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VICTIM OF AUSTERITY

THE LABOUR GAZETTE: 1900-1978

William Lyon Mackenzie King probably wouldn't have allowed it, but the dean of Canadian magazines in the labour field has fallen victim to the federal government's austerity program. This is the last edition of *The Labour Gazette*, established 78 years ago by order of Parliament.

The monthly magazine, which has reported on important trends and developments in the world of work has had probably the strangest history of any government publication. It formed the one-man nucleus of what are now the federal departments of labour and employment, and, more important, brought to Ottawa the man who was eventually to become Prime Minister of Canada and hold that office longer than anyone in the nation's history.

The Conciliation Act of 1900 establishing *The Labour Gazette* was introduced in the House of Commons by then Postmaster-General William Mulock, who said the legislation was designed "to provide a useful publication for all classes concerned in industrial life, whether employers or employees" and "to enable them better to understand not only the conditions affecting their own side, but the conditions affecting the side of the other party." In this way, the government hoped that labour and management "would be more ready to adopt peaceful arguments for the settlement of controversies."

Mulock then announced that "another object of the Bill is to establish a Department of Labour," one of whose functions would be to provide motive power for conciliation machinery.

Mulock (later Sir William) became Minister of Labour and William Lyon Mackenzie King was made editor of *The Labour Gazette*, which duty was soon combined with that of Deputy Minister.

King, a Harvard graduate and roving reporter for the *Mail and Empire*, was in fact recruited for the job by Mulock, even before Sir William had won approval of the *Gazette* in the Commons. King had brought to his attention the shocking conditions then prevailing in the sweatshops of the garment trades, which included firms awarded contracts by the Post Office Department. When he heard the young crusading writer, the Postmaster-General was shocked and angry. Seeking a quick remedy, he asked King to make a report with recommendations on which the government could act.

That interview made an enduring and favourable impression on Mulock. From it stemmed the adoption of the Fair Wages Resolution of March 1900, and later that year the Act establishing *The Labour Gazette*.

During the debate on the Bill, Opposition MPs voiced their suspicions that the journal would become an organ of the Liberal government. Mulock assured them that it would deal purely in facts, and in its first issue, September 1900, Mackenzie King said the publication would not be concerned with the expression of individual views.

Although the statute setting up the periodical placed it technically under sole control of its editor, King was to write in his diary: "Today, I had a pretty good revelation as to the attitude of politicians toward government work. Mr. Mulock went through my articles, and everything which in any way could count for a Conservative, he scored out...He want to have the first issue really a campaign document filled with references to past doings of government."

The magazine was launched 18 days before the general election of that year, making its debut at the annual meeting of the old Trades and Labour Congress. King ran it

Of King's early editorial team, the memory of one, Henry Albert Harper, is perpetuated in the Sir Galahad statue on Wellington Street, Ottawa, close by the Centre Block of the Parliament buildings. Associate Editor Harper, athlete and former newspaperman, drowned in December 1901 in an heroic attempt to rescue a woman skater who had fallen through the ice on the Ottawa river.

for the nine years before his appointment as labour minister in the Laurier government. But even after becoming Prime Minister, he kept in close touch with its development.

Today *The Labour Gazette* is an independent and lively periodical with a cross-country circulation and a significant readership abroad. From a journal of record, presenting dry statements of fact and collections of statistics, it has evolved over the past 10 years into a unique national forum for the analysis and discussion of prime problems and issues affecting the world of work. At the same time, the magazine has consistently striven not to reflect favouritism toward nor to serve as a platform for the vested interests of any individual or institution.[1] In this way, the *Gazette* has continued to impart knowledge while furthering understanding and looking for attitudes and concepts suited to our changing socio-economic climate.

Moreover, the journal has provided a valuable service by bringing together in a comprehensive, concise and readable format information and ideas from a wide variety of sources scattered across Canada and abroad, thereby keeping its readers in one part of this vast country informed of significant events and developments in other parts of the country and abroad. "In this fact," noted King, "is to be found the real importance of the *Gazette*."

Another important function served by this influential periodical is that it has helped to fill the gulf that exists between the work of academic institutions and the more spontaneous and perishable coverage of the mass media.

In the past 10 years the *Gazette*'s reports and articles have come from all the parties in industrial relations, in both private and public sectors — management, unions, academics, journalists and others. They have dealt with any and all issues affecting the world of work and have probably been read by a wider and more varied clientele than that of any other Canadian publication specializing in labour affairs and related subjects.[2]

Generations of researchers have also enjoyed the added advantage that the *Gazette*'s contents are indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index*, *Canadian Business Periodicals Index*, *Work-Related Abstracts*, *Index to Canadian Legal Periodical Literature*, and others. The magazine is also listed in several Canadian and international directories, and for 75 years had its own more detailed annual index. Despite its usefulness, however, this index — available to subscribers and other interested persons — was discontinued in 1975 as an economy measure.

Needless to say, the development was greeted by a chorus of protest — from, among others, the Indexing and Abstracting Society of Canada, the National Library, the Bibliographical Society and the Canadian Education Association.

The Labour Gazette does not have a large circulation when compared with less specialized periodicals, but its actual readers number many times more than its subscribers, which for the most part are companies, unions, colleges, government agencies and a variety of libraries, all of which circulate the magazine. Moreover, the *Gazette* has received a significant amount of additional exposure via reprints or summaries of its contents in other publications. It's also interesting to note that the periodical's paid circulation has been climbing steadily since last fall in response to a limited promotional campaign, the first ever undertaken.

If letters to the editor over the past three years are any indication, the magazine is held in high regard both in Canada and abroad. In recent weeks, a wide range of readers have also written or called protesting the *Gazette*'s demise. They feel that its passing will leave an irreplaceable void in the country's communication network. It is generally felt too that the loss of the *Gazette* is a blow to Canadian culture and democratic tradition.

We thank all those who have expressed their encouragement and support. A very special note of thanks is due also to all those, too numerous to mention, who have helped to make *The Labour Gazette* a worthwhile endeavour. lg

G.F. Sanderson

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[1] The *Gazette*'s contents do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the federal labour department, nor is the magazine pro-labour or pro-management as some of its critics have contended. While it has admittedly echoed the aspirations of all working people, employers' legitimate interests and concerns have not gone unreported. Indeed, the *Gazette* has been in the same position as any independent and impartial arbitrator; in attempting to be fair it has run the risk of antagonizing both sides. This is perhaps why it has appeal for both labour and management, not to mention academics and others.

[2] Among its readers are business executives and union officials, educators and scholars, personnel managers and labour lawyers, public servants and politicians, industrial relations practitioners, journalists, and professionals in a wide variety of sectors and occupations.

newsline

THE ECONOMY

Tax cuts recommended

The Economic Council of Canada has called for a $2-billion cut in federal income taxes in order to stimulate the ailing Canadian economy. Without a tax cut, real growth in the GNP would remain below 4 per cent in 1979, inflation would stay above 7 per cent and unemployment would persist at 8.5 per cent, the council warned in its 15th annual review.

The council believes the tax cut is needed to counteract the effects of government spending cuts, and to encourage private investment.

The council has also recommended a cut to 6 per cent from 12 per cent in the federal manufacturers sales tax and a renewal of the federal-provincial agreements that reduced the provincial sales taxes earlier this year.

A bright spot in the economic picture is that Canada's international competitiveness has not been seriously weakened, the review observes. Most primary industries are highly competitive; much of the slowdown in manufacturing and the adverse movement in the trade balance can be explained by cyclical factors.

The council cites studies that show foreign-owned firms enjoying higher productivity and profits than Canadian-owned firms in the same industry. It attributes the higher costs of most companies producing only for the Canadian market (against U.S. firms) to a lack of specialization and too diversified product lines.

In the service sector, the ECC finds that while technological innovation has not yet displaced significant number of workers, it has altered the work they are performing. Moreover, rising service costs and changes in consumer buying patterns spell uncertainty about security and career prospects for Canadians employe in this sector.

Call for restraint

Canada's post-controls monitorin agency produced its first quarterl report at the end of September, and it suggests that a move by Canadian workers to seek too hig increases could lead back to controls.

The Centre for the Study of Inflation and Productivity points out that when Canada went into controls in 1975 inflation was at 10.5 per cent and unemployment 7 per cent. Now, with the country coming out of controls, inflation has been hovering around 9 per cent and unemployment at 8.5 pe cent.

The Centre says Canada needs more consumer expenditure to take up slack in the economy. It also says Canadians must restrai incomes and prices: "Therein lies an even greater danger. If Canadians generally build the current high rate of consumer price inde increase into their price and wag decisions, they will bring on another round of spiralling inflation.

ATTENTION READERS

This is the last edition of ***The Labour Gazette*** after 78 years of service to the people of Canada and to our readers abroad. Over the years the ***Gazette*** has sought to respond to the need to keep its readership well informed and up to date on all issues relating to the world of work. This has probably never been more pronounced than in today's troubled industrial climate; nevertheless, the ***Gazette*** has fallen victim to the recent moves to restrain the level of government expenditure.

Thank you very much for your readership support and encouragement over the years.

"That in turn would feed into our cost structure, threaten our international competitiveness and further undermine the value of the Canadian dollar.

"We have been along that route, and it could lead to controls."

Textile industry problems

A study published by the C.D. Howe Research Institute says there is no likelihood of a major part of the Canadian textile industry becoming "internationally viable" in the sense of being able to survive without import restraints. The study also suggests that a program of phasing out the industry while protecting both workers and capital would cost less in the long run than the present system of protection.

"A phasing out program must be implemented over a period of time long enough to avoid all but the minimum dislocation and hardship, yet short enough to prevent the recruitment of new workers and the investment of new capital into activities that have no competitive future," says the 79-page study report by Caroline Pestieau, entitled *The Quebec Textile Industry in Canada*. "Such a program is not necessarily more costly in terms of national resources than the present system of protection — over the long run it is almost certainly cheaper — but it is much more visible in terms of government outlays.

The report says experience elsewhere suggests several necessary features for any successful program of "adjustment to the termination of special protection":

- The protection of workers who are genuinely immobile. "Here age is the principal criterion, plus marketable skills and geographical location. With government assistance, immobile workers could be guaranteed pre-retirement pensions equal to their expected earnings as their jobs disappear."

- For firms unable to survive without special protection, disincentives to hire mobile workers. "This implies that when attrition reduces such a firm's work force below an efficient level, the firm will have to close or shift into a different line of business."

- A "generous and effective" retraining and placement program for younger employees who lose their jobs.

- At the company level, disincentives for new firms to get into the production of articles currently subject to special import restraints, and compensation for firms that find themselves obliged to scrap machinery and equipment not fully amortized. "Firms should be able to take advantage of such compensation over a reasonably long, but pre-specified, period of time."

- Assistance to small towns dependent on textile production to attract alternative employment and municipal income. In the absence of alternatives, relocating certain government services to former textile towns might be considered.

- To ensure that consumers benefit as much as possible from ending import restrictions, "measures should be taken to increase competition at the retail level and to provide additional information on retailers' markups over import prices."

The study finds Quebec the principal beneficiary of present protective policies: "On an individual basis, textile employees in Ontario benefit to about the same extent as those in Quebec. But when we take into account the larger number of textile workers in Quebec and of consumers in Ontario, it is clear that Quebec is the principal beneficiary."

The textile industry — including textile producers and producers of related goods such as clothing and knitted goods — employs about 180,000 Canadian workers, 99,000 of them in Quebec. However, about 20,000 jobs disappeared in Quebec between 1973 and 1976, and while 27 per cent of the province's manufacturing labour force worked in textile or clothing production in 1973, that percentage has dropped to 18 per cent in 1978.

"All Canadians pay a price for maintaining the textile industry by means of tariff and quota protection," the report adds. "There are efficiency costs arising from less-than-optimal use of national resources and consumer costs in the form of higher-than-necessary prices in the stores."

FRINGE BENEFITS

30 per cent increase

Fringe benefits paid to employees by 157 private and public organizations have increased by 30 per cent since 1975, according to a survey by Thorne Riddell Associates Ltd. of Toronto. That compares with pay increases of just under 19 per cent in major collective agreements across Canada during the period.

"Though the management consulting firm's survey differs in size and concept from those conducted by government, it says employers who coughed up $3,850 a year for each worker on non-wage benefits in 1975 wound up paying $5,000 on

behalf of each employee for those and some new benefits in 1977," says Clayton Sinclair of the *Financial Times* of Canada. Sinclair notes that the firms surveyed allocated 32.4 per cent of their gross payrolls to benefit programs — up from 31 per cent in 1975 but still considerably under the 36.7 per cent in the U.S. last year.

Although the U.S. benefit proportion is higher, it includes old age security payments, which are excluded from the Canadian figure.

Sinclair says the trend to increased benefits has persisted almost without a break in recent years and is expected to continue into the foreseeable future. Twenty-five years ago, employee benefits represented only 15 per cent of all labour costs.

The most costly benefits — vacations, holidays, rest periods, welfare and pension plans — were provided by almost all of the participating employers. Other common benefits, provided by half or more of the employers, included severance pay, service awards and recreational activities. Dental insurance, a relatively recent addition to the list, was provided by 41 per cent. More than one third of employers also provide relocation and home-buying aid, cafeteria subsidies, Christmas gifts and company discounts.

Most employers insist that employees share in the costs of welfare plans. Only 9.6 per cent of welfare programs and 15.5 per cent of pension plans were fully paid for by the employer. The mining, petroleum and pipeline companies have gone farthest in providing non-contributory welfare plans.

Unemployment insurance, the Canada and Quebec pension plans and, in most provinces, workers' compensation, are among legally required payments — all of which account for 2.82 per cent of payrolls in Canada, compared with 8.5 per cent in the U.S. The difference can be partly accounted for by a difference in methods of calculation.

PRODUCTIVITY

Impact of unionization

Highly unionized companies suffer less from wage pressures than from productivity losses, according to a study of 1,200 firms conducted by the Strategic Planning Institute of Cambridge, Mass. The institute attributes the lower output to restrictive work rules at unionized firms, and the reluctance of employers to introduce technological change. However, profit declines were not common to all unionized companies. They were reportedly greatest in high-market-share firms in mature, slow-growth industries. In general, companies that were 70 per cent unionized showed profits only 3 percentage points lower than firms where less than 35 per cent of employees were unionized.

WAGES

Male-female gap widens

Although Canada has enacted equal-pay laws in every labour relations jurisdiction, the gap between male and female earnings has not decreased and in many occupations is even increasing, according to an analysis of Canadian research on the question.

The gap in average earnings for all men and women working 50 weeks or more in the year was $6,947 in 1976, according to statistics Canada data, which show men earning an average $15,394 while women earned $8,447 — or 45 per cent less. The data also show that the gap has been widening in recent years.

Between 1969 and 1976, the difference in average earnings of men and women in the professions, for example, grew from $4,686 to $7,572, with men earning on average $19,051 in 1976 compared

It would be interesting to compare Canadian data with U.S. data which indicate that even though women start off with only a moderate earnings disadvantage, this disadvantage grows increasingly strong over time. According to economist Michael Gorham, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor,* July 21, research by Isabel Sawhill five years ago revealed that while women in the U.S. earned only 13 per cent less than men at the beginning of their working lives, female earnings fell a full 52 per cent behind male earnings during the prime working ages 35 to 44, this despite the fact that both sexes had the same educational levels, were of the same race and worked the same number of hours each year.

Using 1970 census data, and examining a sample of men and women professionals who had never been married, Allan King of the University of Texas found that while single professional women started their career with almost the same income as their male counterparts, an earnings gap emerged rapidly, Gorham notes. While men were awarded a 3 per cent gain in income for each year of experience, women received less than a 1 per cent gain for each additional year they worked. Thus women professionals were earning almost a third less than their male counterparts by their fourteenth year on the job. Again, the difference is for people with the same racial and educational backgrounds who work the same number of hours per year. Would the findings for Canada differ significantly?

to $11,479 for women — a 40 per cent difference.

In 1969, a woman in a managerial position was earning $5,216 less than her male counterpart. By 1976, the gap was $10,846. Similarly, saleswomen in 1969 earned on average $4,400 less than salesmen. By 1976, the gap widened to $8,460.

"Even the most conservative estimates indicate considerable pay discrimination against women," write Naresh C. Agarwal and Harish C. Jain, members of McMaster University's Faculty of Business, in the March-April, 1978, issue of *International Labour Review*.

They find that in all 13 Canadian jurisdictions — federal, provincial and the territories — the definitions of equal pay and equal work are narrower than the definitions in the Equal Remuneration Convention adopted by the ILO in 1951. Only in two jurisdictions — Newfoundland and Ontario — is pay defined to include wages and fringe benefits, they write. "Similarly the definition of equal work is narrower than the ILO Convention's 'work of equal value'."

The studies also suggest that pay discrimination against women is higher in non-clerical, white-collar jobs than in blue-collar ones. "Perhaps this may be explained by differences in the nature of the pay systems in the two job categories," the authors suggest. "Managements generally enjoy considerable discretion in determining the pay of their white-collar employees, whereas, owing to greater unionization, the rates for blue-collar workers tend to be standardized to a large extent."

EMPLOYMENT

Women get majority of new jobs but are hardest hit by unemployment

Women, particularly the single ones, are also hardest hit by unemployment, according to Statistics Canada data. In 1977, women made up 44.1 per cent of the unemployed labour force, with an average unemployment rate of 9.5 per cent compared with 7.3 per cent for men. Single women experienced the highest rate of unemployment at 11 per cent, compared with 9 per cent for married women, and 7.7 per cent for the widowed, separated or divorced.

By age, men and women between the ages of 20 and 24 faced unemployment rates of 12.8 and 11.8 per cent respectively in 1977 according to Statistics Canada figures. However, once they reached the 25-34 age group, the jobless rate for women remained at 8.9 per cent while it dropped to 5.9 per cent for men, well below the 8.1 per cent average for 1977. In the 35-44 age group, unemployment for men stood at 4.3 per cent and for women at 5.5 per cent. Women aged 45-64 years also experienced higher jobless rates than men in that age group.

Moreover, women are forming a greater proportion of the poor, according to the Economic Council of Canada in its 15th annual review.

The review says lower incomes earned by women usually mean their unemployment insurance benefits are lower than those paid to men, this despite the fact that jobless women face longer periods of unemployment than males.

●

Women in service industries and men in manufacturing have benefited the most from the creation of 375,000 jobs in the Canadian economy during the 12 months ended August 31, according to an analysis of Statistics Canada labour force figures:

- More jobs were produced in the service sector than in the goods producing sector — 204,000 to 171,000, and manufacturing produced three quarters of the jobs in the goods-producing sector.

- Men obtained most of the new jobs in the goods-producing sector, although women benefited somewhat from the increase in manufacturing.

- Women got most of the clerical and sales jobs in the service sector, except for transportation, communications and utilities, where men still took most of the jobs.

- Women 25 and over and youths under 25 got a high proportion of the new jobs relative to adult men.

Although women, who account for about 40 per cent of the labour force, got 57 per cent of the new jobs created during this period, their unemployment rate, at 9.7 per cent seasonally adjusted in August, was still two percentage points above the rate for men.

Can do "men's work"

Research at North Carolina State University has found that women possess energy requirements for a wide range of occupations once considered men's work, including coal mining and construction. The energy capacity of eight female volunteers aged 18 to 23, with a mean weight of 138 pounds, was measured through six hours daily on a treadmill — eight different periods of 45 minutes each.

" WELL, YES... I GUESS YOU WOULD QUALIFY FOR A LOADING CREW AT THAT "

According to psychologist Gayle Wardle, who conducted the experiment, a comparison of their energy outputs with the results of previous research with males shows that women do possess the energy needed for a wide variety of work. "They possess the physical work capacity for work requiring peak work loads and the long-term energy requirements to perform a full day of physically demanding work," she wrote in her doctoral dissertation.

Plight of school leavers

Statistics Canada projections on school enrolments and school leavings suggest a high rate of job creation will be needed to reduce unemployment. The projections also indicate that for a long time to come, unemployment "will be concentrated disproportionately among the young."

The projections are in a 73-page report, entitled *Out of School — Into the Labour Force: A summary of findings*, prepared by four members of Statistics Canada's education division — Zoltan Zsigmond, Garnet Picot, Warren Clark and M.S. Devereau. It is a summary of a longer report expected to be published later in the year.

It estimates the school leavers who enter the labour force this year as totalling 605,300, down from the 1977 record of 615,300. The total is expected to decrease gradually to 508,000 in 1986. On the basis of its estimates the report makes these "exploratory calculations":

- For unemployment to stay at 8 per cent until 1980 and decline to 6 per cent by 1986, from 250,00 to 285,000 jobs will have to be created every year until 1980 and then from 225,000 to 270,000 to 1986.

- For unemployment to drop to 7 per cent in 1980 and to 5 per cent by 1986, 305,000 to 340,000 jobs will have to be created annually until 1980 and then from 230,000 to 270,000 annually to 1986.

- For unemployment to drop to 6.5 per cent in 1980 and to 4.0 pe cent by 1986, average annual job creation would have to be 335,00 to 370,000 until 1980 and 250,000 to 300,000 to 1983, and from 230,000 to 270,000 to 1986.

An average 190,000 jobs were created annually in the 1975-77 period. During the period from 1970 to 1976, however, jobs created had reached an average 260,000 per year, ranging from a low of 100,000 in 1970 to a high o 439,000 in 1973.

Skilled workers wanted

Despite current high unemployment rates, Canada is reportedly faced with a shortage of skilled labour and the shortage is expected to increase when the economy recovers. One reason is that the postwar flow of skilled immigrants has slowed down and Canada does not have enough people in apprenticeship program to make up the difference.

Since 1975, the number of appren tices graduating has decreased t 37 per cent, according to a report in the July issue of *Canadian Business*. "In some trades, such as machinists and tool and die makers, it has been dropping by per cent over the past decade...

Today, apprenticeship represents only 6 per cent of the work force — 1/16th of what it is in West Germany."

Author Randall Litchfield says educators during the 1960s and 1970s have "reinforced the white-collar ideal." As a result, apprenticeship "instead of being a socialization process to move young people from school to adult work roles, became a last resort for frustrated job seekers." The average age of apprentices in Canada is 22 to 23 compared with 16 in Europe, he says, adding: "At the advanced age of 23, many apprentices aren't satisfied with an apprentice's wage, which starts at 50 per cent of the journeyman rate. The result: a 71 per cent dropout rate among Canadian apprentices."

UNIONS

Membership grows

Union membership stood at 3,277,968 in Canada at the beginning of 1978, an increase of 4.1 per cent from the 3,149,213 total at the start of 1977. This compared with a 3.5 per-cent increase between 1976 and 1977. Union members represented 31.3 per cent of the total labour force, up from 31.0 per cent in 1977, and 39.0 per cent of non-agricultural paid workers, up from 38.2 per cent.

The last edition of the annual periodical *Labour Organizations in Canada* — which has fallen under the axe of the federal government's austerity program — also showed that unions with headquarters in the United States accounted for 47.4 per cent of total Canadian membership, compared with 49.0 per cent in 1977 and 49.6 per cent in 1976.

There were 2,203,812 members in unions affiliated with or directly chartered by the Canadian Labour Congress, representing 67.2 per cent of total union membership. The Confederation of National Trade Unions had 177,755 members in affiliated federations, or 5.4 per cent of total union membership. A further 2.3 per cent of the membership was affiliated with other central bodies, while the remaining 25.1 per cent was accounted for by unaffiliated national and international unions and independent local labour organizations.

The unions with the 10 largest memberships, in order, were: Canadian Union of Public Employees, 231,000; United Steelworkers of America, 199,000; Public Service Alliance of Canada, 154,432; United Auto Workers, 130,000; National Union of Provincial Government Employees, 128,061; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, 89,010; International Brotherhood of Teamsters, 86,603; Quebec Teaching Congress, 85,000; Social Affairs Federation, 70,000; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 63,914.

Dues collected in 1976

Unions reporting under the Corporations and Labour Returns Act collected a total of $178,280,000 in dues and assessments from 2,778,722 members in Canada in 1976. Of the total, $84,136,000 was made up of dues and assessments collected by international unions from 1,263,979 members in Canada. The return also shows that the internationals spent $34,004,000 in Canada for salaries and wages of officers and employees resident in this country, strike benefit payments and pension and welfare benefits.

As usual with the publication of the Statistics Canada data, spokesmen for the Confederation of Canadian Unions, with 30,000 members in its affiliated national unions, claimed that the CALURA report means the internationals made a "profit" of $50,000,000 from their Canadian operations. The Canadian Labour Congress has consistently complained that the report does not give a complete picture of spending by international unions in Canada. The CLC recently told a parliamentary committee that amendments introduced to the Act would only partly correct the situation.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

BNS and CUBE sign first agreement

The first collective agreement in Canada between branches of a national bank and a union was signed Sept. 28 in Toronto between the Bank of Nova Scotia and the Canadian Union of Bank Employees. The one-year contract covers employees of the bank's branches in Simcoe, Port Dover and Jarvis, all in Ontario.

CUBE, an offshoot of the Canadian Chemical Workers Union, won certification in the branches in June, 1977. It is expected to merge with the Union of Bank Employees, an affiliate created by the Canadian Labour Congress to organize bank employees. The CLC is also co-ordinating organizing campaigns among banks by other affiliates. The campaign was spurred by a 1977 ruling by the Canada Labour Relations Board that a bank branch — rather than all of a bank's branches across the country — is an appropriate bargaining unit. Otherwise, unions would have had to gain a majority among all eligible employees in Canada of a

nationally chartered bank. (See *LG* Aug., Oct. and Dec. '77; Aug. '78)

The first major breakthrough in organizing bank employees in Canada came in 1967 when the Office and Professional Employees International Union won certification to represent 1,000 employees of the Montreal District and Savings Bank, confined to the Montreal area. Until the summer of 1977, OPEIU was the sole union in the banking industry in Canada.

Solution to teacher surplus

The 600 high school teachers employed by the Lakehead Board of Education, at Thunder Bay, Ont., have negotiated a one-year contract that will allow them to defer a part of their salary for four years and to take the fifth year off, using up the deferred salary in that year. The voluntary program is intended to help relieve a teacher surplus anticipated because of declining enrolment.

The agreement provides that individual teachers may negotiate a leave agreement with the board on the amount of salary to be deferred. The agreement guarantees the individual teacher's leave should the board and the teachers' union not agree to continue the program in future negotiations.

THE WORKPLACE

Problems of open offices

"Open plan" office work spaces now make up about 10 per cent of existing office space in the U.S., but a report in *Business Week*, August 7, says a significant number of managers have discovered that open offices create problems "that can drive top executives up the very walls that only they are likely to have." Some of them:

- Morale can plummet when employees who have traditionally judged their status by walls and doors find themselves in a status-less environment.

- The very lack of privacy of open-plan offices can inhibit the communication they were meant to spur. International Harvester Co., after converting several sections of its Chicago headquarters to an open plan, had to go back and wall in the personnel and corporate planning sections. Delicate and secret discussions within them could be overheard elsewhere.

- Not everyone likes the closeness fostered by the open plan. One secretary complained that the constant chatter of her peers had cut her productivity. And a General Motors Corp. materials analyst, whose desk was suspended from a partition, complained that "when the guy on the other side closes a drawer, the whole thing shakes."

One of the shortest-lived open-concept work places was at Paul Harris Stores Inc. in Indianapolis where $90,000 was spent to modernize its headquarters office with low, brightly coloured partitions and modular furniture. "The retail fashion buyers, accustomed to their private, closed office, raised a nerve-frazzling din on their telephones," *Business Week* reported. "As their tolerance wore thin in the open offices, purchasing decisions normally made in minutes began to lag a day or more. ...Within a week, $30,000 worth of new components were carted away, and nearly all of Harris' office staff were soon back in closed offices."

Lack of privacy, communication problems, and productivity declines resulting from noise and other distractions, have also been reported by Canadian managers and employees who have worked in open offices.

LANGUAGE

Bilingualism fading

A study published by the C.D. Howe Research Institute find it evident "that Canada's two official language groups are becoming increasingly polarized, with the English language used less and less in Quebec and the French-speaking minorities fading away elsewhere."

"The vision of a Canada bilingual from coast to coast is far from the reality shown by the census data," writes Richard Joy in the 46-page report entitled *Canada's Official-Language Minorities.* The work updates a classic work published by the same author in 1967 entitled *Languages in Conflict.*

Joy notes that at the time of the 1921 census almost one quarter of Canada's French-speaking population was living outside Quebec "and there seemed to be some possibility of the country evolving in such a way that both languages would be in common use from coast to coast." He adds, however that 1921 proved to be the high-water mark of French Canada. The succeeding decades have witnessed "an accelerating disappearance, through assimilation, of Francophone communities left isolated and far from Quebec." Similarly, he notes that while in the mid-19th century persons of British origin represented 37 per cent of the total population of Quebec County, which includes Quebec City, they have now fallen to approximately 3 per cent.

Joy says only one seventh of the Canadian population is able to speak both official languages, and the minority of this group lives in a "bilingual belt" situated in northern New Brunswick, southern and western Quebec, and northern and eastern Ontario. Elsewhere in Canada he finds an increasing tendency toward an exclusive use of one or the other of the two official languages. "Only inside the bilingual belt, particularly in the metropolitan areas of Montreal and Ottawa, is there still a moderate probability that minority language will survive," Joy contends.

The 1971 Census, he adds, "brutally exposed the fact that, among the 719,190 persons of French origin born in Canada and living in Ontario, well over half (394,240) reported English as the language used most frequently in their homes."

French-speaking minorities fade away through assimilation, he observes, whereas migration reduces English-speaking minorities. "Within Quebec," he comments, "there has been very little net assimilation toward the majority language, and it is the continuing departure of Anglophones that has left French the dominant language almost everywhere in the province outside Montreal; knowing they have a whole continent in which they can live and work in their own language, most Anglophones find it easier to leave Quebec than to make the effort rquired to live in French."

HEALTH AND SAFETY

Deaths and injuries, 1977

Occupational accidents and illness took the lives of some 924 workers (or 9.4 per 100,000) last year in Canadian industry, according to preliminary Labour Canada data based on workers' compensation board reports from across the country[1].

Work-related injuries numbered 1,036,897 (or 10.57 per 100 workers) in 1977, of which 46 per cent were disabling[2].

Total costs of compensation for injuries and deaths amounted to $874,366,000 in 1977, an increase of 9.4 per cent over 1976.

Goods-producing industries, which in 1977 employed about one third of all workers, again accounted for two thirds of all fatalities, with the fishing, forestry and mining industries continuing to be the most hazardous.

By occupation, craftsmen and related workers continued to account for about one third of all deaths, followed by transport workers, miners and labourers.

By sex, males accounted for 98 per cent of fatalities. By age, employees over 25 years accounted for 75 per cent of deaths.

The Labour Canada figures do not include deaths and injuries affecting employees *not* covered by workers' compensation, and are therefore under-estimated by 25 to 30 per cent.

[1] This compares with 1,058 deaths (or 11 per 100,000 workers) in 1976, and an average 1,155 a year (13.4 per 100,000 employed) in the 1968-77 period.

[2] This compares with 1,044,499 injuries (or 10.85 per 100 workers) in 1976 and an average 910,460 injuries per year (10.54 per 100 workers) in the 1968-77 period.

Right to refuse unsafe job

Quebec has announced its intention to allow employees to stop performing or refuse to perform work that they consider hazardous to their health or safety.

A provincial government policy paper released in October said employees could take the action without penalty, and the onus of disproving the allegation would be on the employer.

Last year 199 workers in Quebec died from job-related accidents or illness, and approximately one of every 12 suffered an injury.

The white paper on health and safety also recommends increased emphasis on prevention and the establishment of joint worker-management safety committees in all companies with 10 or more workers. The committees would be phased in, starting with industries with the worst safety record — in other words, an annual accident rate of at least six per 100 workers.

Three other provinces — Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario — as well as the federal government have given workers the legal right to refuse dangerous work.

"Assembly-line hysteria"

Investigators for the U.S. National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health are investigating an apparent increase in "assembly-line hysteria" — their name for mass psychogenic illness for which they can find no physical cause such as a chemical, a gas or an infectious agent. Data they now have on 1,000 victims suggests that mass psychogenic illness occurs "more often than might be imagined," says a report in the June, 1978, issue of *Psychology Today*. It is likely to occur when

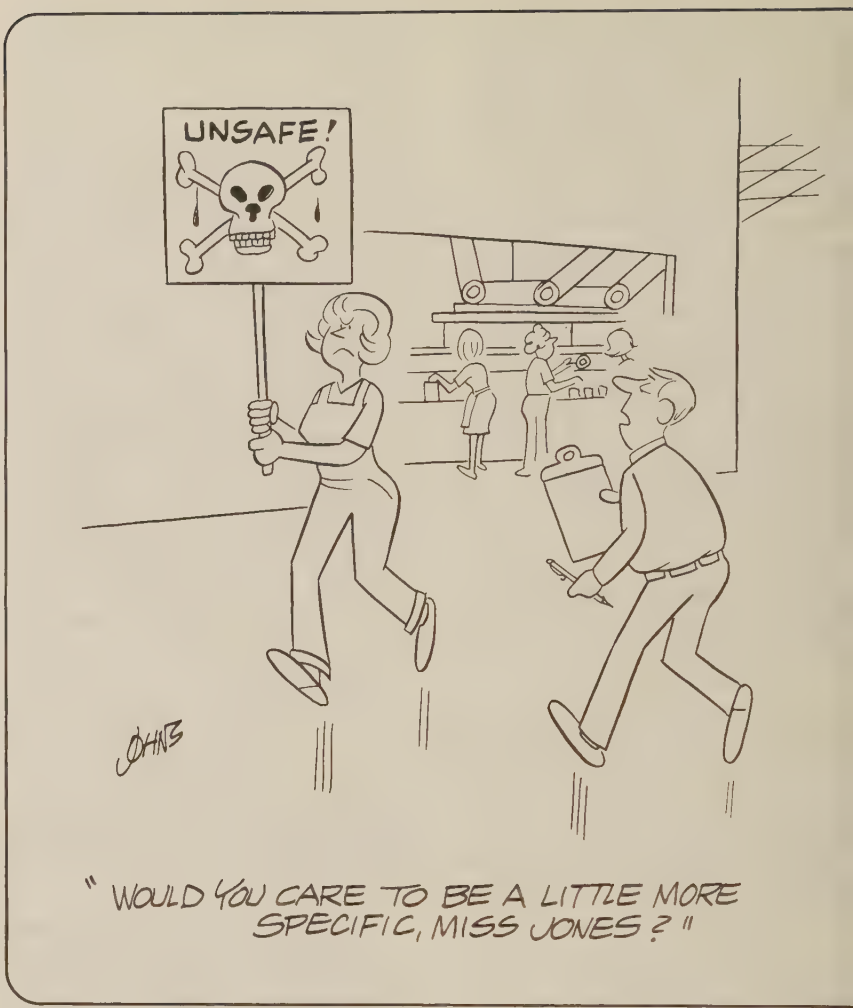
several people find themselves in a stressful situation with no customary way of coping with it. "Belief in an ambiguous threatening force apparently then develops," the report adds. Boredom from performing dull repetitive tasks also seems to play a key role. And since women are the most frequent victims, institute psychologists are considering whether some king of sex-role conflict predisposes them to mass psychogenic illness.

Company fitness programs

Company-sponsored employee fitness programs are gaining popularity in Winnipeg. About 100 of the 500 employees of Richardson Securities of Canada take part regularly in programs using a track around an observation gallery on the 31st floor of the Richardson Building at the intersection of Portage and Main streets in downtown Winnipeg. Bristol Aerospace Ltd., an aircraft components manufacturer, runs part of its program at the swimming pool of a nearby motor hotel. Other companies, including the Great West Life Assurance Co., Cargill Grain Co., Prairie Equipment Ltd. and Boeing Aircraft have also supported programs.

Highest lifespan

According to 1977 figures published by Japan's Ministry of Health and Welfare, the life expectancy of Japanese men is 72.69 years, highest in the world, and that of Japanese women 77.95 years, also the highest along with Sweden. Now that Japan has become "the country with the longest average life span," belated welfare policies covering pension plans and retirement age will be more clearly highlighted.



WORK STOPPAGES

Back-to-work legislation

Parliament passed special legislation to end strikes twice in October, 1978, a step it had taken only eleven other times since it passed an unprecedented emergency law to end a national rail strike on August 30,1950.

The Acts of Parliament ending the fall 1978 walkouts by 375 marine engineers who man Canada's Great Lakes fleet, and by 23,000 inside postal workers, were passed to force the resumption of servic considered essential.

And, as is usual in such circumstances, there were calls for out lawing all strikes in the public sector, or at least for more seve limitations than exist now on th strike rights of employees in essential services.

In a Gallup poll taken before the postal strike started, 63 per cent people interviewed opposed the right to strike for public employe — including 49 per cent in hous holds in which one family memb belonged to a union.

But would outlawing public service strikes put an end to them? Organized labour argues that to take away the right legally does not end strikes but results in defiance of the law. This was certainly true in the case of the special legislation to end the postal walkout, as employees continued to maintain picket lines even after the legislation was passed.*

If the strike right is denied, unions ask, what guarantee do employees have that their rights will be upheld? Without the strike option, their negotiators' bargaining power is diminished while that of the employer is increased. Obviously, if the right to strike is to be denied, adequate compensation would have to be made for the loss of that right.

Some of the arguments put forward for denying the strike right to public-sector employees centre around the differences between collective bargaining in the public sector, which is directly supported by taxes, and the private, profit-oriented sector.

In a private-sector strike, the goods or services provided by the struck firm are more likely to be available from other sources, and so the public at large suffers minimal inconvenience. In a public-sector strike — as in the postal walkout — alternative services are not readily available, and the public is directly affected.

A strike or lockout is supposed to hurt both sides in a dispute, and thus bring about the motivation for a settlement. The argument is frequently put forward, however, that in the public sector it is not the employer who is hurt but the public at large.

Some would say private employers have more incentive to hold out against high wage demands because they would affect the company's prices and hence its ability to compete. Governments, it is argued, are likely to be more generous because they can raise taxes to cover the higher costs.

Nevertheless, politicians who raise taxes stand to lose their seats in the subsequent election, as an outraged public votes them out of office. This is particularly true in times of slow economic growth.

Also to be considered is the whole question of the value of public services. The public becomes accustomed to expecting certain services in much the same way it expects the sun to rise and set. A strike reminds the public dramatically of the worth of such services. It reminds taxpayers of a truth they rarely want to hear: services must be paid for, and the public payroll is part of the cost. No wonder public-service strikes are unpopular!

Columnist Don McGillivray, in the October 23 Montreal *Gazette* aptly termed specific back-to-work laws as a "confession of failure."

"They mean, in essence, that a legal strike is transformed into an illegal one," he wrote. The right to give or withhold labour, which is taken for granted by most of us, is removed from a specific group of citizens. They are told by Parliament that they must work, under penalty of law, whether or not they are satisfied with the pay and conditions. Such suspensions of rights — similar to those possible under the War Measures Act — are justified in a democracy only by a national emergency."

The Canadian "solution" likely will be to leave public employees with the right to strike but to legislate it away from them in specific situations considered by a majority in Parliament to be national emergencies. A Parliamentary majority has taken that step 14 times from August 1950 to October 1978. Historically, the strikers so ordered back to work have come out ahead of the disputed employer often under terms set out in the legislation or arbitrated later.

Don't rock the boat

Last year Austria had exactly one strike, involving 43 employees who stayed off the job for two hours — a total time loss of 86 hours or 0.1 seconds per person employed in the country.

One reason advanced for Austria's calm labour scene is the country's high degree of social consensus between the major economic interest groups. Under an unusual system of social partnership, business, labour and government work in tandem to maintain economic, social and political stability.

The presence of Communist troops next door, as well as memories of the turbulent 20s and 30s and the Nazi occupation, have had some bearing on the development of unity, consensus and harmony in this relatively happy and prosperous European country. lg

*Members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers refused to comply with back-to-work legislation enacted October 19, and ignored court injunctions against picketing. The thirteen-day strike ended October 26 after CUPW members were told to return to work or face dismissal.

special reports

PUBLIC OPINION

How Ontario residents feel about work

The messengers of doom and gloom who claim the ancient virtues of work have disappeared will gain little support from a Canadian Gallup Poll survey of 1,103 Ontario adults on how they feel about work. The findings portray a population "that is neither crushed by the burden of work nor obsessed with a desire to be freed from work," the Canadian Gallup Poll reports.

"Almost three out of five Ontario residents believe they get more out of life when they work harder," the pollsters found. "Over half of those people say that is because of the 'sense of achievement' that goes with hard work. Furthermore, more than half believe that working hard is the way to do a good job. In fact, almost 80 per cent disagree that 'a happy life requires that you do as little work as possible'."

Perhaps the most surprising finding of all is that this strong support for the work ethic comes from the young and well-educated — "in short, the 'comers' in Ontario society" — and to a much lesser extent from older people "whose work horizon lies largely behind them."

Rather than work being a trauma prople seek to avoid, the Canadian Gallup findings place work at the centre of people's lives — lives that are empty if work is not available.

The pollsters conclude: "In short, the serious problem is not work but the possibility we might be deprived of it."*

Strong support for the work ethic comes from the young and well-educated...and to a much lesser extent from older people

People in Ontario do not seek the jobs that are believed to involve the least work: 45 per cent of the respondents said they believe civil servants work the least hard among occupational categories, but only 8 per cent regard the civil servant's job as the most desirable.

*A Gallup Poll released in September found that 75 per cent of Canadians now think high unemployment will continue "for many years to come." Pessimism appears to be most pronounced in the 18-to-29 age bracket where 78 per cent forsee continued high unemployment. The national poll was taken right after Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau delivered his August 1 speech promising new measures to reduce the number of jobless persons in Canada. An economic growth rate of at least 5 per cent is generally considered essential to reduce unemployment, but most economists expect the 1978/79 rate to run below 4 per cent.

About 72 per cent of respondent said they believe they are "movi ahead" in building a secure life and 71 per cent said that if unen ployment affected them or their families, they would consider moving to a new city to build a new life.

"These are not the reports of a despondent population," Gallup comments. "These are the repor of people who are 'doing just fin and one can well question the va dity of the concern some leader verbalize about security." Gallup says the responses raise several questions:

- Do Ontario residents need or appreciate concern by public bodies for their personal securit
- Does the state of the economy really reflect the optimism or pessimism of the people within
- Do people in general not do a fairly good job of looking after their own lives?
- Is there not a "quiet pride" present in most people. If there have we taken it fully into accou in the rush to social planning? A social planners sure they are no "social intruders?"

Another surprising answer came the question of what advice

Ontario residents would give to adult male and female teenagers. For females, 41 per cent answered, "Get a college education," while 23 per cent replied, "Become skilled in a trade." For males, the percentages were only 27 per cent for college education and 46 per cent for a skilled trade.

These are the respective female/male percentages for other advice: Work at anything until the right thing comes up, 16/14; become a professional (doctor, lawyer, etc.) 10/9; get a job with the government, 7/2; start a small business, 3/4; None, don't know, 5/3.

Gallup says these responses raise other questions that should be pursued:

- Has college education failed with males or succeeded with females?
- Are skilled trades now becoming the prestigious occupations?
- Are we underrating "on the job training" and overrating institutionalized preparation for work?

"There is no evidence in our study to suggest that Ontarians are a despodent population buffeted by unemployment and price rises"

- Are the professions losing ground?
- Is the elitism of government work finished, or did it ever exist?
- Have we lost all faith in 'going it on your own with a small business'?

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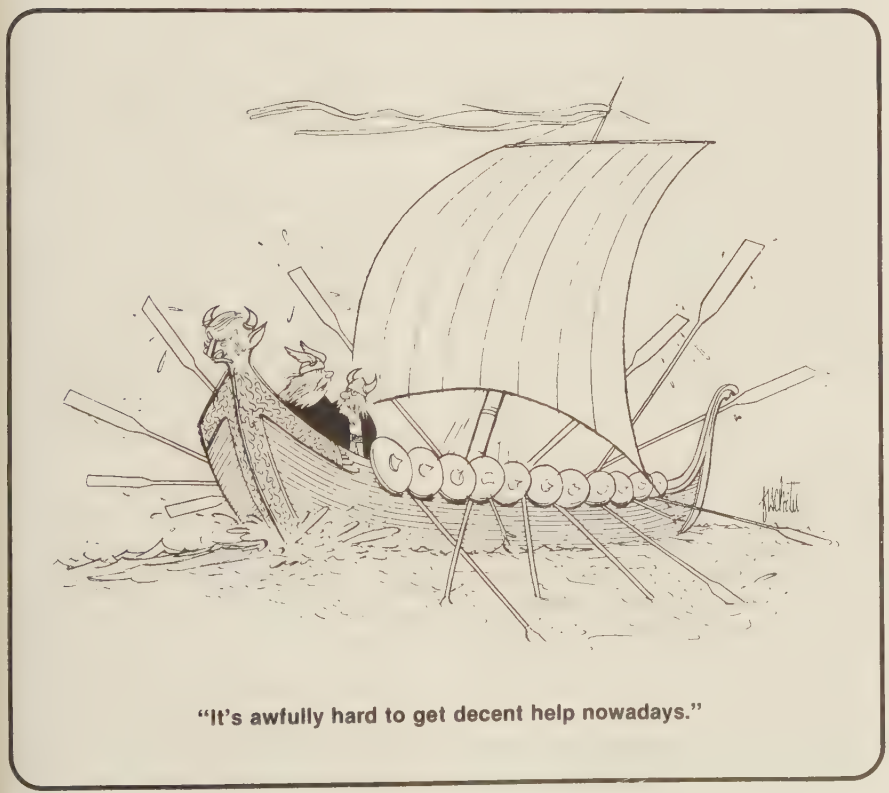


"It's awfully hard to get decent help nowadays."

- What does it mean that only 4 per cent (i.e., the average of 5 per cent and 3 per cent) could not answer these questions?

Some other questions, and the responses:

"The harder one works, the more one gets out of life." Agree, 58 per cent; disagree, 39 per cent; don't know, 3 per cent.

"The harder one works, the better job one does." Agree, 52 per cent; disagree, 41 per cent; don't know, 7 per cent.

The pollsters found these percentages of *disagreement* on specific statements: the harder you work the fewer jobs there are for other people, 52 per cent; most of the people having emotional or mental problems work too hard, 41 per cent; labour unions encourage their members not to work too hard, 29 per cent; people really do not work as hard as they should, 19 per cent; if you are not well paid you should still work hard, 11 per cent; if you are well paid, you should work hard, 8 per cent.

"In spite of the current economic climate there is no evidence in our study to suggest that Ontarians are a despondent population buffeted by unemployment and price rises," Gallup comments. "Our survey findings are evocative of a society that senses success far more than it bemoans failure, that continues to show belief in the work ethic and that has developed a skepticism about the value of some of its most powerful institutions, for example, its educational structures."

Gallup concludes: These opinions offer some surprises "to those of us who gain our 'facts' from the news media." lg

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

Absenteeism and labour turnover in selected Ontario industries

Management regards absenteeism and labour turnover as the most serious personnel problems facing employers in Ontario, according to a survey conducted by the provincial ministry of labour. Nevertheless few companies compile statistics on absenteeism and turnover; fewer than 25 per cent have tried to find their underlying causes; and fewer than 10 per cent have made any special effort to prevent them or even control them. The survey findings also suggest that both problems could be reduced by improving the work environment.

The study was undertaken in 1976 by the ministry's research branch and authored by economists Gordon Robertson and Jane Humphreys.* A mail survey of 1,600 establishments drew responses from 958, or 59.8 per cent. However, only 11 per cent of the firms canvassed provided data on absenteeism and only 15 per cent on labour turnover. As a result, the data should be interpreted with caution. The firms surveyed were from all five regions of the province and represent nine industry groups. The emphasis was on resource-based, related manufacturing and selected transportation industries, vital to the provincial economy.

Only 17 per cent of the responding organizations reported they compile statistics on absenteeism for management review and only 13 per cent on labour turnover. Another interesting finding is that only 5 per cent compile productivity statistics, only 11 per cent keep statistics on time lost to work injuries, and only 3 per cent on labour-management relations.

By industry, the researchers found, banks and accommodation and food service establishments monitor turnover more frequently than absenteeism, while in logging statistics are compiled most frequently on time lost to work-related injuries. Owing to the nature of the business, statistics on theft and sabotage are compiled most frequently in retail trade, which also was found to be the most concerned about absenteeism.

Few companies compile statistics on absenteeism and labour turnover or make special efforts to prevent or control them

Several contrasts appear in responses to questions on whether the employers surveyed were experiencing any human relations problems at the time of the study or during the previous three years. Absenteeism and labour turnover were each identified by more than one third of the establishments canvassed — 36 and 37 per cent respectively — interesting in view of the fact that fewer than one half of those reporting a problem could actually have been compiling statistics on it.

Absenteeism is experienced mo frequently than turnover in large establishments and in resource-based, related manufacturing an selected transportation industrie (except logging and metal mines while turnover is experienced m frequently among small compan and in service-type industries.

Some other findings:

- Personnel problems — particu larly labour shortages — appear be more pronounced in North-western Ontario than elsewhere the province.

- Alcoholism is a more common problem for metal mines and pa and allied industries in north-western Ontario than for the sam industries in other regions.

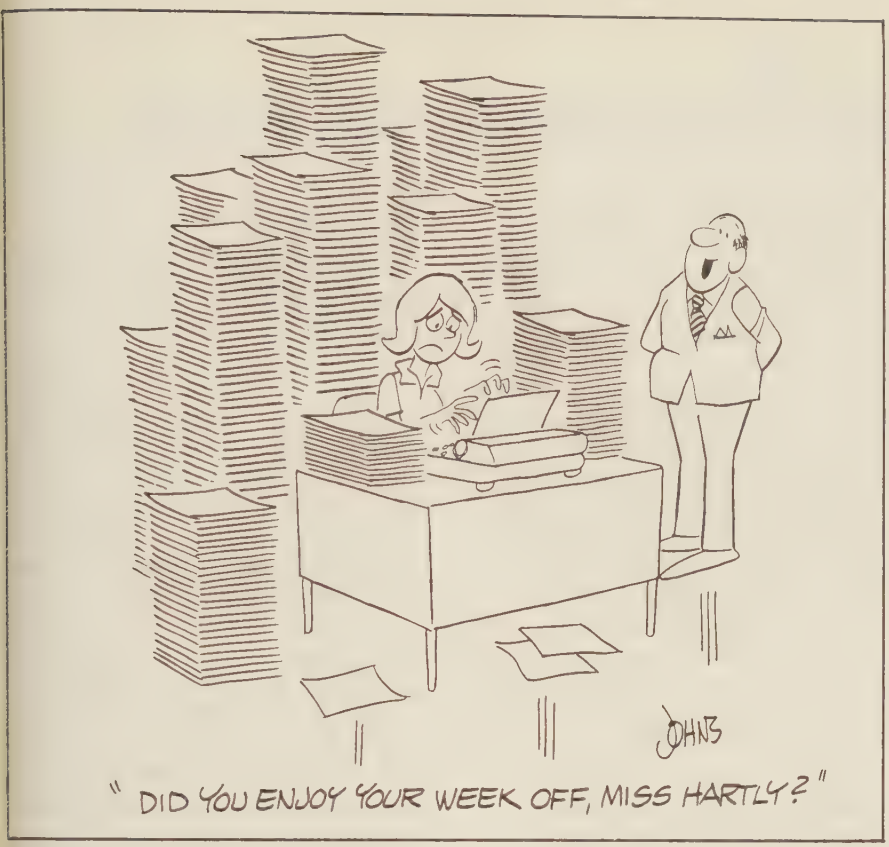
- Poor labour relations are seen a more serious problem for log-ging and banks than for other industries.

- Females have generally highe turnover rates in Ontario than males; however, in some regions and industries, males have highe rates than females.

- The causes of both absenteei and turnover cited most frequen by management include persona problems, a poor work ethic, an dissatisfaction with working con tions.

The study does not distinguish between voluntary and involunta absenteeism (resulting from inju sickness, industrial disputes, an

*The study (titled "Labour Turnover and Absenteeism in Selected Industries: Northwestern Ontario & Ontario) is component No. 10 of the Northwestern Ontario Manpower Adjustment Study, sponsored by the federal and Ontario governments and coordinated by Mel Soucie of Employment and Immigration Canada and Farid Siddiqui of the Ontario Ministry of Labour.



so on). It's also worth noting that the findings do not incorporate the views of employees or their representatives.

Robertson and Humphreys note that employers tend to place the responsibility for absenteeism on the worker. "Only in Northwestern Ontario do establishments seem willing to look within their own organizations for at least some of the causes."

• The most common methods of controlling absenteeism reported are discipline, employee counselling, and selective recruiting.

Common methods of reducing turnover are selective recruiting, employee training and counselling, and improving the terms and conditions of employment. The methods chosen vary considerably among the industries surveyed.

Absenteeism is costly. While the responses are not sufficient to provide accurate data, interviews with senior managers in a cross-section of companies indicate that the cost of absenteeism ranges from one to three times the hourly wage rate of the absent worker, depending on whether employees are paid for days absent, whether absent employees are replaced and the degree of experience of those who replace them.

It is not uncommon for firms to overstaff by up to 10 per cent to avoid the disruptive effects of absenteeism

The cost of turnover ranges from $3,000 to $7,000 for the average employee, depending on the method of replacement. These figures include the cost of advertising, interviewing, training and orienting the new employee, lower productivity due to inexperience and lost productivity resulting from the vacancy.

The interviews with management also revealed that it is not uncommon for firms to overstaff by up to 10 per cent, particularly in production areas, to avoid the disruptive effects of absenteeism.

In addition, the researchers found a large disparity in absence and turnover rates among establishments within individual regions and industry groups. This would appear to indicate that "at least part of the problem rests with the individual establishment."

While a number of employers are aware that their own terms and conditions of employment contribute to absenteeism and turnover, most companies perceive these problems to be a consequence of factors beyond their control, including a poor work ethic or the personal problems of their employees. Moreover, this attitude is reflected in the lack of positive action being taken to control or solve the absenteeism/turnover problem.

One conclusion of the study is that the reduced rates of absenteeism and turnover experienced by those firms that have taken steps to improve the "intrinsic" aspects of work would suggest that a good deal more could be accomplished if more attention were paid to the management of human resources. Employers could perhaps give more thought to enhancing opportunities for advancement, increasing employees' involvement in decisions affecting their jobs, and trying to improve the nature of the work itself. lg

Work stoppages and the problem of conflict duration

Many Canadians felt concern about the future of their country's industrial relations when they learned recently that 3,731,390 man-days (0.29 per cent of estimated working time) were lost in 580 work stoppages during the first seven months of 1978, an increase of about 92 per cent from the 1,944,560 man-days (0.17 per cent of estimated working time) lost during the first seven months of 1977. By industry, time lost did not change appreciably in manufacturing (1,349,270 man-days in 1978), but there were big increases in mining, from 79,440, to 676,100; in construction, from 296,910 to 617,780; and in the transportation, communication and other utilities category, from 115,590 to 533,180.* Declines in strike activity were registered in forestry, fishing, finance and services.

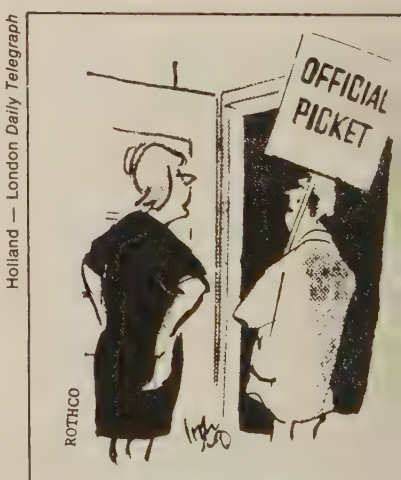
The public's concern has been fired by the high visibility of some 1978 stoppages, among them the strike by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Alberta that affected preparations for the Commonwealth games in Edmonton; a strike and lockout involving 1,200 brewery workers in British Columbia; a nation-wide strike and lockout in the meat packing industry; a province-wide strike by carpenters in Ontario; the bitter 135-day strike by the United Auto Workers at the Fleck Manufacturing Limited plant in Ontario; the Toronto transit strike that was ended by legislation; the Air Canada strike by the International Association of Machinists; strikes at the Dosco plant in Sudbury, at de Havilland's plant in Downsview, Ont., and a stoppage in Great Lakes shipping; strikes by the letter carriers and the inside postal workers; and the threat of more strikes to come.

1978 promises to be a somewhat turbulent year. James Bagnall of *The Financial Post* wrote in July of the "summer of discontent" that had "burst across the country" as major unions launched a "concerted offensive" against the federal government's recommended limit of 6 per cent on wage increases. (More than 46 per cent of time lost in the first seven months occurred in June and July). And Don McGillivray of Southam News Services warned that unions would be making strong efforts to get higher wage increases as Canada approached 1979.

No wonder the impression exists that the Canadian labour scene is in constant turmoil, even though an Economic Council of Canada study has shown that during the "stormy 1967-75 period almost 80 per cent of all major collective agreements covering 500 or more persons in the private sector and nearly 90 per cent in the public sector were concluded without disruptions of any kind, and about one-half of these even without recourse to third-party intervention. Inclusion of smaller bargaining units would make the percentages of "peaceful" settlements even higher.

Why, then, the belief that Canada has a basically troubled industrial relations system? Why the emphasis in the public mind on work stoppages? One answer is, of course, the obvious one that work stoppages draw a great deal of public and media attention. The unusual situation appears to be the "usual" one in the public mind because it is a situation to which the public is regularly exposed.

Another answer is provided in the studies recently undertaken for Informetrica, an Ottawa economic research firm, by Paul Malles, an industrial relations specialist. The studies, entitled *Canadian Industrial Conflict in International Perspective* and *Conflict Incidence and Duration in Canadian Industry*, point out that Canada and the United States have strikes that, on average, last much longer than



Holland — London *Daily Telegraph*

"Not another night out!"

*After peaking in 1976, when nearly 12 million man-days were lost in industrial disputes — an estimated loss of 0.55 per cent of working time — there was a considerable reduction in time lost during 1977. The 3,307,880 man-days lost last year were the least since 1971, and the ratio to estimated working time — 0.15 — was the smallest since 1964.

By province, Quebec had the worst record for the first seven months of 1978 — 1,107,460 man-days lost (1,025,870 in 1977) — while Ontario, which has a larger labour force, lost 1,011,310 (672,600 in 1977). The federal public service and industries under federal jurisdiction lost 473,190 man-days in work stoppages, compared with 148,210 for the first seven months of 1977.

those in most other industrial countries. However, in terms of the percentage of the work force involved in strikes, Canada's record is much better than that of most other industrial nations.

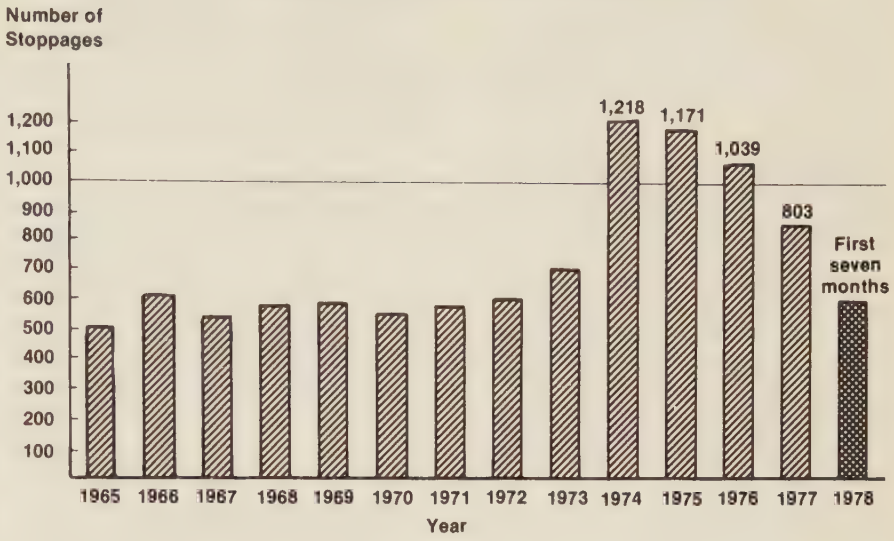
The conflict picture in Canada is "heavily weighted" by the strikes "that drag on over weeks and months, and are isolated in time and locality," Malles finds. "This not only tends to inflate the overall time loss, but also conveys the impression of perpetual, large-scale industrial unrest in Canada, which is, in fact, contradicted by the relatively low rate of worker involvement relative to employment. That is, time loss which under the more highly centralized

Canada has strikes that, on average, last much longer than those in other industrial countries, except the U.S.

and less diversified bargaining systems prevailing in most industrial countries of the West would indeed indicate massive social tension and labour unrest, does not carry the same significance under Canadian conditions."

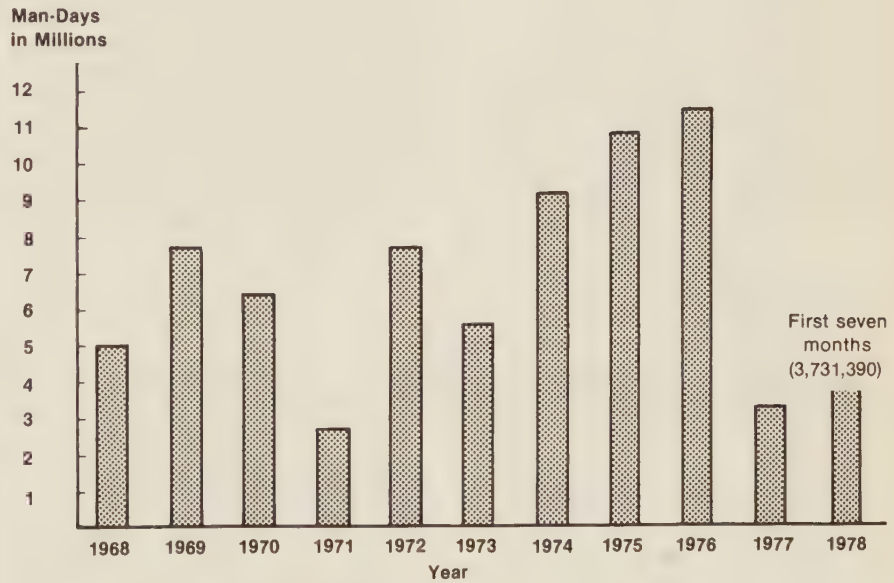
Malles points out that, though international work stoppage data published by the International Labour Organization are not comparable among individual countries, they have been used to support the contention that Canada's industrial conflict record "is the worst except for Italy's." He uses the same data to show that if the percentage of the paid work force involved were used as the comparative figure instead of man-days lost per thousand employees, Canada would rank well behind Italy, with 40.2 per cent of its labour force involved in work stoppages; Australia, with 28.9 per cent; France, with 13.4 per cent;

CANADA — ALL INDUSTRIES
NUMBER OF WORK STOPPAGES



Labour Data Branch, Labour Canada

TIME LOST IN STRIKES



Labour Data Branch, Labour Canada

the United Kingdom, 7.0 per cent, and Japan, 6.3 per cent. The Canadian percentage was 4.2 and the U.S. 3.6. The data cover the 1970-75 period.

On the other hand, in terms of working days lost per worker involved in work stoppages, the U.S. leads with 15.5 per cent, Canada is second with 15.0 per

cent, followed by, in order, Belgium 11.8 per cent; Sweden, 9.1; the United Kingdom, 8.9; Denmark, 7.5; The Netherlands, 6.4; Germany, 5.3; Italy, 3.7; Japan, 2.7; and Australia, 2.5 per cent.

Malles lists several reasons frequently put forward for the lengthy duration of the strikes that do occur in Canada:

• "It is taken for granted that conflicts of interests in North American society — and not only those between management and labour — are being fought out to the bitter end with no holds barred and with little or no concern for the public interest."

• The "lack of realism" in opening bargaining demands "raises the immediate expectation of the membership" so that when a strike does occur the leadership often dares not go back to the membership "before the members themselves signal the end of the conflict."

• "Similarly, management often refuses to state its own counter-offers, or states them in such unrealistic terms, that the conflict not only becomes inevitable, but is also unnecessarily prolonged."

In terms of the percentage of the work force involved, Canada's strike record is much better than that of most industrial nations

• The "extreme complexity" of North American agreements which extends negotiations far beyond the expiry date of the previous contract, "thus creating a sense of frustration by which the so-called 'cooling-off' periods built into the system in fact become 'heating-up' periods."

• "Another argument sometimes put forward by unions, is the acceptance of strike-breakers during legal stoppages which may prolong a conflict almost endlessly, a practice either frowned upon in most European countries as socially unacceptable or impeded by agreement or law."

The present belief that Canada's industrial relations scene is stormier than it actually is, largely because our strikes are more visible and last longer, may lead to political pressures for more government involvement in the collective bargaining process and for even further legal limitations on the process.

Malles quotes this observation from an Oxford scholar: O. Kahn-Freund: "There is no correlation between the incidence of stoppages (measured either in the number of stoppages or in items such as working days lost) and th elaboration of the law of strikes, nor is there any visible connectio between the interest shown in tha branch of the law and the degree of prosperity enjoyed by a given community."

Malles says Canadians, despite th range of arguments put forward, really know little about the cause of the "excessive" time loss in Canada which comes about, abov all by the "over-long" duration of individual conflicts.

What is needed, he maintains, "is that the parties themselves most immediately involved take the issue up for study, discussion an negotiation and arrive at a labour code of their own rather than rely on government or any other third party to find a solution to the problem of conflict duration." lg

Roy LaBerge

PRODUCTIVITY

Quality of working life a key factor?

Productivity is a subject as wide-ranging as the economy itself, influenced by a multitude of factors and government policies (see box, p.501). The debate about productivity (output per worker), however, has been one of the most unproductive ever.

It is not surprising therefore that the federal government has seen fit to create a national Centre for the Study of Inflation and Productivity under the auspices of the Economic Council of Canada.

But whatever may be achieved in the long-run by changes in government policy designed to make Canadian industry more competitive, current economic developments make productivity improvement a matter of some urgency for Canadian companies at the individual level.

Canadian and U.S. research indicates that there has been a long-term decline in the rate of produc tivity growth in Canada, and that the country's performance in this regard has been particularly disap pointing in the 1970s by compari son with France, Italy, West Germany and Japan.

While Canada has consistently outperformed the U.S. — its prin cipal trading partner and compe-

titor — in terms of labour productivity improvement, the gap is closing, with Canada still lagging behind the U.S. in overall productivity levels in the manufacturing sector. Moreover, there are indications that the Canadian level of productivity measured in terms of capital inputs is at least 20 per cent lower than that of the U.S., and more than 30 per cent below levels in other industrialized countries.[1]

Meanwhile production costs have been rising faster in Canada than in the U.S., thus reducing the ability of domestic manufacturers to compete with U.S.-based firms.[2]

The picture becomes more ominous with international pressures for relaxing Canadian protectionist trade barriers, and with expected hikes in labour costs following the winding-down of the Anti-Inflation Program.

In the 1960s, increases in labour and capital costs were offset by productivity gains, but in recent years sluggish productivity growth has caused unit production costs (the cost of producing a given unit of output) to climb more rapidly in Canada than in the U.S.[3]

There is considerable variation in unit labour costs among individual industry sectors, however, owing to variations in rates of productivity growth. Some Canadian industries (rubber and plastics, machinery and transportation equipment, for example) appear to be close to or more productive than their American counterparts, while others (paper and leather products, for example) have shown poor productivity growth since the 1960s.

The Canadian Labour Congress dismisses Canada-U.S. labour-cost comparisons as "completely arbitrary and unsubstantiated." The CLC says the estimates omit fringe benefit payments, which constitute a higher proportion of the U.S. compensation package relative to Canada. Moreover, the figures in Canada's case come only from companies with 20 or more employees — whereas the

The recent deterioration in Canada's productivity performance has been attributed to a combination of factors. Among them: cyclical weakness and structural shifts in the economy, changes in the composition and behaviour of the labour force, insufficient research and development activity, and increasing intervention by governments.

Although the marked shift to service-sector employment may account in part for the low rate of productivity increase in Canada, it is worth noting that the loss of momentum has been most pronounced in the goods-producing sector.

Another factor on the employment side which is thought to have affected the growth rate and level of output per worker is the increasing proportion of part-time and temporary workers in the economy (mainly women and young people). In addition, a high rate of growth in the labour force has meant that labour supply in Canada has not been a constraint to increased production, thereby diminishing the incentive to use labour as efficiently as possible.

The low rate of productivity growth in Canada has also been attributed to the state of labour relations and the work environment generally. There has been a dramatic rise since 1965 in the number of labour disputes per year and the employees involved in them, with the result that the proportion of available working time lost to work stoppages has increased from an average 0.14 per cent a year in the 1951-65 period to 0.36 per cent from 1966 to 1977. Moreover, labour disputes have broader repercussions across the economy, rendering more severe the negative effect on output per worker.

More serious is the problem of absenteeism — both voluntary and involuntary — which has cost the economy much more time lost than strikes.

Finally, increasing government regulation of economic activity is thought to have hampered productive efficiency by diverting manpower and capital resources away from the traditional production and marketing functions of business.

Despite these limitations, however, individual firms and industries have considerable room for manoeuvre within the existing socio-economic framework. Among individual initiatives now being taken to enhance corporate performance are: improved productivity monitoring systems; information gathering and dissemination; corporate restructuring and plant modernization; consortia arrangements and modern management control systems; incentive and education programs designed to increase the skills and motivation of employees.

The role of government in creating a policy environment that is more conducive to productive efficiency comprises, among other things: dissemination of information on productivity improvement; effective labour relations policies; appropriate use of stabilization policies to counter cyclical downturns, and commercial and competition policy to bring about necessary structural change.

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1 It should be noted, however, that a recent study by the Conference Board in Canada found a significant difference in productivity levels between durable and non-durable goods industries, with the former reaching about 96 per cent of U.S. productivity levels, while the latter attained only 72 per cent of the U.S. level. It's also interesting to note that industries with a good labour productivity record generally do well in terms of capital productivity.

2 Research by the Conference Board in Canada indicates that the earnings gap between U.S. and Canadian workers — which stood at about 20 per cent in 1966 — has been eliminated or reversed. On an aggregate basis, average earnings in 64 Canadian goods-producing industries had climbed to 102 per cent of those in the U.S. by June 1975. In 19 service-sector industries studied, average earnings in Canada were 112 per cent of those in the U.S. by mid-1975. Although the rate of increase in plant and equipment costs has been just as striking as the upward movement in wage levels, payments to labour are the most important element in the cost picture because they represent the largest share of national income in industrialized countries.

3 Although the recent decline in the international value of the Canadian dollar has significantly offset the deterioration in Canada's cost position vis-à-vis the U.S., its major competitor, such relief will be short-lived if it leads to higher prices for imported materials and equipment, and higher labour costs as workers attempt to recoup losses in real income caused by higher prices for consumer goods and services.

U.S. data are not restricted by firm size — thus giving a "significant upward bias to the Canadian earnings data," the Congress adds.

While there are indications that total compensation for all employees is indeed higher in the U.S. than in Canada, the reverse has been found to be true for production workers.

Some would also argue that Canada's competitiveness depends on factors other than labour cost and that productivity improvement depends primarily on capital and technology.

In the U.S. there appears to be growing preoccupation with practical solutions rather than with counter-productive debate on statistics, and arguments about who bears the blame for poor productivity performance. Within this more constructive framework, increasing emphasis is being placed on the productivity payoff of good labour-management relations and an improved working environment.

A symposium on "Work in America: The Decade Ahead" was held this year in New York to develop policy guidelines for shaping an effective work environment in the 1980s. *World of Work Report*, published by Work in America Institute, observed that there was a surprising unanimity of views among the 100 participants from management, labour, government, the media and educational and research institutions. The consensus was that making better use of human resources and improving management of the modern work force are key elements in raising productivity.

The key to progress, it seemed to many participants, "is in the development, slowly and painstakingly, of an environment of mutual trust" between workers and management. Critical elements are management credibility, adequate employee information, and consistency in administration and company policy. The features of most immediate concern to workers in any quality of work life program are:

- job security and due process;
- a good physical environment;
- a variety of incentives to encourage achievement;
- recognition and promotion;
- pride in work and in product quality;
- a work environment that promotes family stability and control over life outside the workplace;
- services, such as health care, credit unions, and supporting services.

"I do not know of a single instance where improved quality of working life didn't lead to improved productivity," *Business Week* quotes Theodore Mills, director of the American Quality of Work Centre in Washington, D.C., as saying.

More and more North American managers will become involved in issues relating to the quality of working life, according to George H. Kuper, executive director of the National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life in the U.S.

"Some will do so because they are self-starters who see this as a way to raise performance to new heights," he writes in *Labor Law Journal*. "The majority will do it in order to meet external pressures."

Kuper agrees that employers' unions' and government's interests in QWL are not identical, but he says they have much in common. "When representatives of the three sit down together they perceive shared interests they did not see before. When this discovery takes place in an atmosphere that allow something to be done about thes shared interests, it becomes easi to discuss issues that are not as obviously of mutual interest."

Many American companies do rel heavily on improvements in work life to promote productivity, but most regard any cost savings as competitive information to be kep under wraps, according to a recer *Business Week* report on productivity in America.

Despite traditional fears of "workers' control," there are also instances of American companies that are experimenting with various forms of worker participation in decision-making. "People support what they help create," observed Delmar L. Landen, a director of personnel and develop ment at General Motors. GM's plant at Tarrytown, New York, had a dismal productivity performance until the company took the union in its confidence and started applying workers' suggestions.

Effective innovation for increased satisfaction and productivity mus take into account all aspects of the work environment, however. Job security and prestige, for example, may be just as importan as job enrichment or worker parti cipation in decision-making. Among other significant factors t consider are work pace and the way work is organized.

Commenting on the success of quality-of-working-life experiment at General Foods' pet food plant Topeka, Kansas, where workers themselves carry out many tasks formerly done by management, Professor Bruce Peters observes: "Cost is lower, quality and produ tion higher than in conventional plants. As a result of this succes the plant will possibly be returne to a traditional factory system,

because it was too threatening to too many people."

Writing in the *Personnel Journal*, Peters notes that if managers were given the same assurances of job security that union members are given in successful innovations, there would be greater likelihood of success. "We have simply failed to recognize the security needs of another set of employees who are in a position to reject innovation or ensure its failure" — management, particularly at the shop-floor level. (*LG* Sept. '78, p.386)

Kuper notes that management and workers may have to grasp that "economic stability, job security and productivity improvement reinforce one another." U.S. workers, he notes, "are pressing harder and harder for the level of job security that now prevails in Europe."

He also writes that any effort to promote co-operation must take into account the anxieties that "beset" both sides: "Leaders on both sides are fearful of losing control; followers of being exploited."

J.M. Rainville of the School of Industrial Relations at the University of Montreal found in a study of production workers in three firms that job security is the most important factor affecting satisfaction for all workers. Rainville also found that regardless of the degree of job enrichment, the pace of work is a critical factor in determining the level of worker satisfaction: where the pace is rapid, high levels of job enrichment go with lower levels of satisfaction. Wage levels are also important. High-wage workers are more satisfied with their jobs even when the level of job enrichment is low.

Quality of work life improvements and worker participation have staunch supporters in Canada, among them R.D. Pollock, president of Canada Wire & Cable Ltd. But, as Pollock himself notes, "We in Canada are moving too slowly... we're lagging behind most industrialized countries in experimenting with QWL programs just as surely as we are lagging in productivity and in our standard of living."

Canada Wire & Cable is introducing QWL programs involving work rotation, minimum supervision and plant committees to identify and solve problems. "From experience in our company, I am convinced of the link between participation and productivity," Pollock said. "I see QWL programs in very basic terms, namely, you and I are more willing to support a decision to which we were a party than one to which we weren't."

"I believe that if we can broaden workers' participation, we can generate greater job satisfaction, higher productivity, lower costs, and through lower costs, more jobs," Pollock told an industrial relations conference organized recently by the Personnel Association of Toronto.

He stressed that labour-management co-operation in QWL programs may be the most important single remedy to Canada's productivity problems, especially as little else can be done in the short term about other factors in the productivity equation. QWL improvements "can make a very real contribution to improving Canadian productivity, faster and more significantly than if you worked to repurchase our industry from foreign owners, to significantly increase research and development, to increase investment in new plants and equipment or to restructure Canadian industry," Pollock added.

Kuper proposes labour-management committees as the institutional framework for improving QWL. He says they will operate more effectively if both parties see themselves in the same boat — for example, when foreign competition threatens profits and employment — when each party is prepared to cede some traditional rights, when the committee's work is "openly and vigorously" supported by labour and management

leaders, when the committees are given the opportunity to accomplish something "visibly worthwhile," when they communicate fully and frequently with the people they represent on both sides. "Finally," he writes, "the most essential precondition is a guarantee from management that no workers — and, for that matter, no supervisor either — will lose job security because of anything the committee may do."

Many believe that organized labour, despite certain apprehensions, is willing to co-operate with management on productivity. "Unions are just against across-the-board formulas that attempt to tie wages to productivity," according to James Frank, a Conference Board in Canada researcher whose statistical studies on productivity are among the leading Canadian indicators.

"The unions know productivity is a big problem for Canada and that we simply must all work for it," says W.D. Rooney, president of Canadian Appliance Manufacturing Co. His company, apprehensive abour Canada's performance vis-à-vis America, has launched a comprehensive program to increase productivity by 20 per cent over the next five years. The program, which includes quality of work life features, has the support of the 30 unions representing the company's 5,000 employees.

"Productivity is not a matter of making employees work longer or harder..."

The Canadian worker can be as productive as any of his or her foreign counterparts, and this can be achieved in part through the simple logic of keeping him or her satisfied and involved. There is always something that can be done, whether in big unionized firms like Canadian Appliance Manufacturing Co. or smaller firms whose employees are not unionized, such as Ottawa's Love Printing Ltd.

Love Printing President I. McJannet has no complaints about the productivity of Canadian workers. "It all depends on how you run the company and how you treat your people," he puts it simply. The firm offers an attractive fringe package to its 80 employees, flexible working hour and job rotation. This, as well as prominently displayed posters stressing the value of each individual worker's effort to the team's productivity and well-being, have apparently worked well.

Above all, productivity is a challenge to the resourcefulness and imagination of management. In t words of Richard Gerstenberg, former board chairman of Genera Motors: "Productivity is not a matter of making employees wor longer or harder. Increased produ tivity results mostly from sound planning, from wise investment, from new technology, from bette techniques, from greater efficien — in short, from the better exercise of the functions of management...Beyond this, productivity depends upon the conscientious effort of every employee, a willin ness to do a fair day's work for a fair day's wage." This employee willingness, again, is a function c management. lg

Bill Megalli and G. Sanderson

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Limitations on union discipline

In March of this year the British Columbia Labour Relations Board ruled that union members may be fired from their jobs — at union request — for violating the security clauses in their contracts. It was the first clearly defined judgment in Canada on an issue that's been the subject of great contention for many years. (See *LG* Aug. 1978, p.363).

Now, in a new decision, the board has set out the limitations on trade unions acting under such clauses by ruling that dismissals cannot be sought in an arbitrary or discriminatory way. In other words, the unions simply don't have carte blanche to exercise the power of life and death over a man's livelihood.

The two decisions, taken togethe set a firm precedent for Canada dealing with the complex questi of union discipline.

The March ruling said the Office and Technical Employees Union was right in asking the B.C. Hyd and Power Authority to fire a ma who had refused either to take p in voluntary, selective strike acti

or to contribute a percentage of his earnings, if he chose to continue working, to a special strike fund. The man was not, in fact, fired, because after the board decision he paid fines imposed on him by the union and thus kept his job.

The second ruling made recently, centred on the case of 100 workers who had been ruled as essential by former board chairman Paul Weiler and who therefore could not go on strike against the Vancouver General Hospital along with their 2,100 colleagues in the Hospital Employees Union.

Even though they were not allowed to strike, the union ordered the 100 to pay all but $100 of their weekly salary to a union strike fund since, in the union's opinion, they were "still part of the overall strike action."

Its rationale was that union members on strike at the VGH were picking up only $35 a week each as strike pay, for which they had to do 12 hours of picket duty or equivalent strike work per week. The essential or "designated" employees were working their usual 37½ hours a week and that entitled them to roughly three times the amount the regular strikers were getting. Hence the $100 figure. The designated workers had to give up the rest of their salary to help promote a strike for a contract from which they would benefit just as the strikers would.

But the HEU had another type of assessment in operation for employees at other hospitals involved in the contract dispute but not on strike as the VGH was. That assessment amounted to one day's pay per week. That, according to the designated workers at the VGH, was much less than they were being asked to pay.

The designated workers protested. But the union tried to enforce the assessment against them by requesting their dismissal by the hospital.

The board's ruling against the union was based on a section of the B.C. Labour Code that says: "A trade union shall not act in a manner that is arbitrary, discriminatory or in bad faith in the representation of any of the employees in an appropriate bargaining unit."

...the unions simply don't have carte blanche to exercise the power of life and death over a man's livelihood

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The board said: "The Code recognizes that the individual's right to continue work on his own terms must be accommodated to the general right of the unit of employees to bargain effectively with their employer. But it is one thing to say that the use of union security clauses to enforce union discipline is not prohibited by the Labour Code. It is quite another to imply that the abuse of this kind of union power is not regulated by the Code."

The method of strike assessment adopted by the HEU was, in the board's view, clearly discriminatory. A worker in a classification similar to one designated by Weiler as essential who was employed at a non-striking hospital contributed only one day's pay per week to the strike fund. But such a worker at the VGH had to pay all but $20 a day ($100 a week) to the fund for every day the strike continued, which in this case was 13 days.

This created a gross disparity in the two assessments and constituted discriminatory treatment on the part of the union.

Furthermore, the HEU assessment against the designated workers was based on gross rather than net earnings. Those workers had to pay all their normal payroll deductions out of the $100, which meant they took home less than the $100.

The board said: "To add a Kafkaesque touch, the implication of this union policy was that the more a designated worker was paid by the hospital (because the work in question was more difficult or required more skill) or the more time he spent at work (because of any overtime required), then the less money that worker was actually left with after the assessment. Deductions such as income tax are calculated on gross earnings. Thus, the higher the gross earnings, the higher would be the deductions. But all of these deductions had to be borne by each designated worker out of the same, flat $100 a week."

The HEU wanted the designated workers fired because, the inference must be, if they weren't, the union would feel compromised in enforcing reluctant union members to abide by the rule of the majority. That was basically the justification for the board's decision in the B.C. Hydro case. But if that rule had been applied in the VGH case, without consideration of the special circumstances, it would have been unfair. So the VGH decision says the unions must be fair in enforcing union security clauses rather than simply applying the letter of the law. lg

John Clarke

Collective bargaining and government policies

Like the dodo bird, free and unfettered collective bargaining is a thing of the past, according to several participants in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) conference on collective bargaining and government policies, held July 10 to 13 in Washington, D.C. The conference brought together 150 delegates from 31 countries, including academics, government officials and representatives of employers and unions. The 16-member Canadian delegation was the second largest and included five representatives of Labour Canada.

The view that unfettered collective bargaining is extinct, if it ever existed at all, was expressed frequently during discussion of two papers at a session on the topic, "Developments in collective bargaining and their impact on national economic policies." The papers reflected the differing historical and philosophical perspectives of their authors. Rudolph A. Oswald of the AFL-CIO indicated strong opposition to government interference in the collective bargaining process. On the other hand, Albert Verschueren, director-general of the Federation of Belgian Enterprises, accepted it as inevitable, given broad government responsibilities for economic growth, high levels of employment, and stable prices.

Verschueren said that perhaps the most significant industrial relations development of recent years has been increased government intervention in the interests of ensuring bargaining outcomes compatible with government economic objectives. Intervention has taken several forms, he pointed out, including social contracts, tripartite discussions prior to bargaining, various forms of tax relief and direct controls. He added that the emphasis was increasingly shifting from mandatory controls and other forms of direct intervention to a search for consensus among unions, employers and governments on the "parametres" within which wage bargains should be struck. There has also been growing recognition that successful anti-inflation policies are heavily dependent on the voluntary agreement of unions and employees, he said.

Like the dodo bird, free and unfettered collective bargaining is a thing of the past

During the subsequent discussion, there appeared to be substantial agreement on several other points: the increasing role of government in the bargaining process will continue; unions need to be educated in macro-economic terms; greater information sharin and dialogue are needed among unions, employers and governments, and the development of c operative arrangements should b actively pursued. Nevertheless, several participants expressed concern about the impact of government intervention on colle tive bargaining. They feared possible infringement of individu liberties and the substitution of "bureaucrat fiat" for joint decisio making by unions and employers

Similar philosophical differences appeared in discussion of papers on the other conference topics: the medium-term economic environment and industrial relations; the interaction betwee collective bargaining and govern- ment policies in selected membe countries; collective bargaining

issues and public policies, and the development of collective bargaining in relation to national economic, employment and related policies.

The paper on this last topic by Professor John Dunlop of Harvard University also pointed up a major difficulty in achieving a tripartite incomes/price policy in countries with industrial relations systems like those of Canada and the U.S. He said that while such a policy was desirable, it would have to meet three requirements: (a) The central labour organization must have the ability to exert the necessary pressure and influence on its national and local unions; (b) the business community must have the co-operation of the various industry sectors; (c) the federal government must be an active participant at the national level to make the program administerable. Sidney F. McKenna, vice-president, labour relations for Ford Motor Company, responded that in the

...responsible collective bargaining is a precondition for responsible pricing policies by business and responsible economic policies by government

U.S. national leaders, whether union or management, "cannot guarantee delivery" — a situation that obviously also exists in Canada.

Whatever their philosophical differences, the participants agreed with Charles G. Wootton, OECD deputy secretary-general, that the economics of all OECD countries were bogged down by common problems: high unemployment, severe trade imbalances, and persistent inflation. Wootton also stressed that responsible collective bargaining is a pre-condition for responsible economic policies by government — a theme echoed by the other papers.

Charles F. Schultz, chairman of the council of economic advisers to the U.S. president, held that it should be possible to achieve a "modest" economic growth in most of the countries without igniting inflation but that this had to be done on a concerted basis. Noting that many countries had turned to voluntary measures for controlling prices, he said no single approach is suitable for every country because of wide differences in institutions and methods of collective bargaining.

Schultz also warned that the temptation to deal with unemployment by slowing down the growth of labour input — through work sharing, shorter hours or longer vacations — should be resisted. Such measures, he said, are not a solution to the problem of unemployment. lg

R.L.

CONSTRUCTION

B.C. sets a precedent in joint bargaining

For the first time in recent memory a settlement has been negotiated in the British Columbia general construction industry without mediation or any other form of intervention by the provincial government. For the first time in many a long year there has been no strike or even a suggestion of a strike. And for the first time all 17 trade unions involved will be signing their contracts at the same time, a far cry from the days when they used to leapfrog over one another in a scramble for the best wages and conditions.

All of this has been accomplished as a result of an agreement worked out by the Caffibies and the Cubbies, with some judicious help from the B.C. Labour Relations Board and the B.C. Federation of Labour, under which the building trades unions bargained under a joint council for the first time in history.

It is a far-reaching agreement that puts B.C. construction bargaining

It is a far-reaching agreement that puts B.C. construction bargaining structures far ahead of anything anywhere else in Canada or North America...

structures far ahead of anything anywhere else in Canada or North America, for that matter. It was years in the making, through tumultuous periods of strikes and lockouts and countless thousands of man-days lost. But in the final analysis it was 10 days — and nights — of debate by the Caffibies and the Cubbies in the Labour Relations Board offices in Vancouver that produced this landmark development.

The Caffibies were the four men representing the building unions supporting the idea of a Common Front Industry Bargaining Structure (CFIBS), a tight, firmly

constituted, united, joint council. The Cubbies were four men from unions supporting a more loosely Co-ordinated Union Bargaining Council (CUBC) that would have left the individual unions free to do their own thing if they disagreed with the common approach.

About 40,000 workers in 17 trades...must in future all settle together or not at all

In the end the Caffibies won. But not before that 10-day drama had been played out in the LRB offices. Throughout most of the time the Caffibies and the Cubbies were kept in separate rooms. Jim Kinnaird and Roy Gauthier of the B.C. and Yukon Building Trades (Union) — a federation of construction unions — were in a third and Len Guy, the then secretary of the B.C. Federation of Labour in a fourth. Paul Weiler and Ed Peck, chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the LRB, moved about from room to room like moths on a summer night, carrying messages, probing here, suggesting there, until the final constitution was approved, setting up the first joint bargaining council in B.C. construction history.

A joint council could have been imposed by the LRB at the request of the provincial government and at times that course was being considered. But Mr. Weiler says the great value of the new structure is that it was approved by the unions voluntarily. They are committed to it and it's they who will have to make it work. He has complete confidence that it will.

It will cover about 40,000 workers in the 17 trades. They must in future all settle together or not at all. No longer will one union be able to strike, throw up picket lines and close the industry down. No longer will unions be able to hold back, waiting to see how others do before getting down to sincere bargaining themselves. All the old inter-union rivalry over the "pecking order" in wage rates and other conditions should now die a natural death. And if the negotiations this year are anything to go by, it will be an unlamented death.

The constitution under which the new, tight bargaining structure operates provides for a policy committee that determines and formulates contract demands based on resolutions from a wage and policy conference. It comprises four members from each building trade union local involved.

The actual negotiating is done by a bargaining committee comprising two members each per union from the policy committee. But it's the policy committee that decides how the unions should respond to management's proposals and counter-proposals as the bargaining goes on. It's also the policy committee's responsibility to decide whether a recommendation for strike or ratification of negotiated terms should be put to the union members.

Close and easy liaison between the two is maintained by the simple device of appointing one chairman and one secretary for both committees, although neither man has a vote in the final decisions.

The voting procedures are somewhat complicated. But they are designed to ensure that there is no doubt about the recommendations arrived at or about the strength of worker sentiment for or against those recommendations, both union by union and in the overall work force.

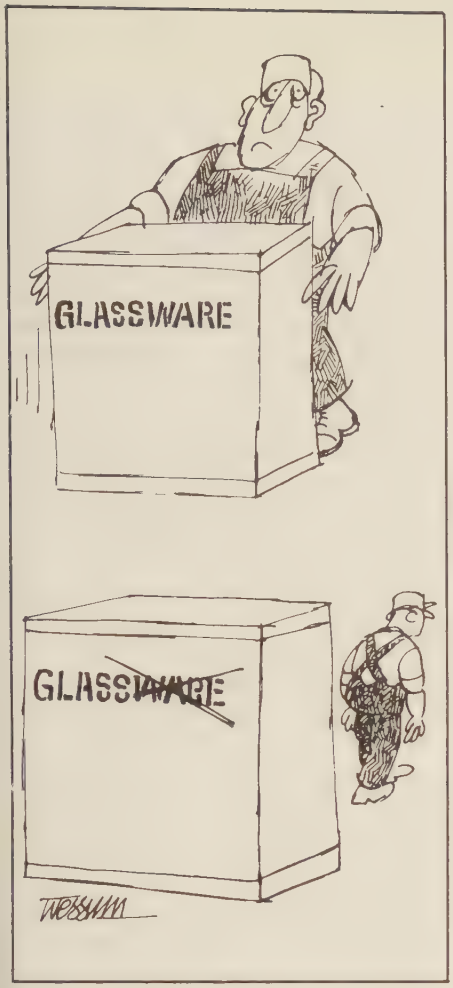
Before a strike vote can be held, such a recommendation must be approved by at least two thirds of the representatives on the policy committee. The strike vote itself needs only a simple majority. Before a contract ratification vote can be put it must be approved by a similar two-thirds majority of the policy committee. Then the members of two thirds of the unions must approve. Finally all those votes are put into the pot, as it were, and if a simple majority in that count approves, a settlement has been reached. The simple majority vote is not counted unless two thirds of the unions first approve.

...inter-union rivalry over the "pecking order" in wage rates and other conditions should now die a natural death

The results, of course, are binding to all concerned.

The joint council, it should be understood, is responsible primarily for negotiating only the broad general items, such as wages, hours and so on. The individual unions are free and expected to bargain their special trade items themselves, although they do not bring those negotiations to the formal agreement stage in any key areas until a general agreement is ready.

The constitution also designates the British Columbia and Yukon Building Trades Council — the federation to which all the construction unions belong — as the provider of "the necessary administrative resources for the work of the bargaining council." In effect, that means the Building Trades Council runs the show and it assesses the bargaining council a share of its operating costs as a federation.



This new structure differs fundamentally from joint bargaining models in Ontario and Quebec and is, according to Weiler and others, considerably better.

Joint bargaining at the trade level in the Ontario model really doesn't come to grips with the essential problem of competition among the unions themselves or the other general difficulties when employers face a multiplicity of unions. Trade bargaining may provide more stability in contract bargaining than the old local-by-local system. But it sustains the old local-by-local problems by simply mirroring them in a trade-by-trade structure.

In B.C., the Quebec system, in which all the unions in the entire construction industry (road building, pipeline construction, public utilities as well as the general contractors) are lumped together in one council, is seen as an enormous dog's breakfast, where the problems are dramatized and heightened rather than rationally managed.

The individual unions are free and expected to bargain their special trade items themselves

Such a structure would be considered far too unwieldy in B.C. That's why this joint bargaining council has been deliberately limited to the general contractors. The hydro dam builders, the heavy construction road builders, pipeline contractors and the line contractors servicing the public utilities will remain separate and distinct from the general construction bargaining council.

The designers of the B.C. model see just too many internal pressures developing in any organization trying to encompass all the interests of those other groups. There are different problems. Hydro dams, for instance, are built under no-strike, no-lockout agreements with the contractors, primarily because of the critical timing factors involved in dam building schedules. How could construction men, operating under such labour relations constraints, be part of a joint bargaining structure in which strikes or lockouts are still possible?

It may be that wage and conditions patterns among the various construction disciplines will converge somewhat over the years. But the view, among unions and contractors alike, is that the nature of those disciplines and, consequently, the problems are sufficiently different to argue convincingly for continued separate bargaining. There would be no sense in allowing the special difficulties of one group to infect an enormous joint bargaining group like the one in Quebec and force it into a devastatingly large strike or lockout involving all.

B.C. has had trade-by-trade bargaining for many years. It has had experience with occasional attempts to develop multi-trade bargaining. The unions and contractors are well aware of the danger in trying to do too little or too much to rationalize collective bargaining in an industry where there are so many unions, each of them representing a single, well-defined craft.

While the Bargaining Council of B.C. Building Trade Unions is the most sophisticated advance in joint multi-union contract bargaining on the continent, it's as far as anybody wants to go, including the B.C. Labour Relations Board, which was the prime mover in bringing those Caffibies and Cubbies together during those 10 days in March.

The joint council will have a five-year trial period. Theoretically, it could be disbanded after that time. But nobody believes that will happen. The structures may be modified in light of further experience. But there's every evidence that neither the unions nor the contractors (represented by the Construction Labour Relations Association) want to go back to the old days of fragmented bargaining. That's why the chances for success are considered very good indeed. lg

John Clarke

Adelaide international conference

The government of South Australia stands firmly committed to the promotion of industrial democracy. This was made clear at the international conference on industrial democracy which drew 76 speakers and hundreds of participants to Adelaide, May 29 - June 2. And if a consensus emerged from their examination of systems in Norway, Sweden, West Germany, Britain, Yugoslavia and Australia, it is that there is no one route applicable to every country.

They were told by Roger Blanpain, a professor of law at the University of Louvain in Belgium, that "employee participation" is a fundamental objective of the European Economic Community.

If a consensus emerged, it is that there is no one route applicable to every country

However, while "participation from supervisory-board level to shop floor is necessary, diversity due to different national systems will be present in Europe for a long time."

Whatever system is appropriate for South Australia, the concept of industrial democracy will continue to draw strong support from the state's labour government. Premier D.A. Dunston reiterated this in his welcoming address to the participants. His government sponsored the conference in order to give South Australian academic, business and labour leaders, as well as government officials, an opportunity to learn about developments in industrial democracy in other countries and to debate them with their counterparts from those countries.

They learned that the roots of industrial democracy in Norway lie deep in the country's 20th-Century history. Dr. Oyvind Skard, director of the Norwegian Employers' Federation and chairman of the Norwegian Institute for Adult Education, said the existing system grew out of basic agreements between major union and employer groups established as early as 1935.

Skard said the legal initiatives that encouraged the refinements of industrial democracy in his country during the past two decades were inspired by a joint union-management committee. Laws to enable employee representatives on company boards introduced in the 1960s have been further developed in the current decade, he said. In one of the more significant recent legal developments, employees have obtained a right to experiment in different forms of work organization, he reported. Previously this had been a matter for negotiation. "The current industrial democracy implementation is centred on project groups," he added. "Various organizational interests are represented in these groups and they plan and guide their own programs of work environment change."

Stig Gustafsson, legal council to TCO — the central organization of salaried employees in Sweden — described his country's far-reaching system, which embraces board representation, extension of bargaining rights and job enrichment. Legislation passed in 1974 gives unions the right to at least an equal voice in all aspects of corporate life, he said. "Whether the new experiment will succeed or fail," he commented, "depends on whether workers and management can maintain the tradition of co-operation which has for decades helped Sweden maintain a high degree of industrial peace and prosperity."

The Australian system will likely continue to consist of modifications of forms developed in Europe

The participants heard both employer and union views of the West German system which embraces workplace, factory, enterprise and over-all economy levels. Presenting the union viewpoint, Dr. Bernd Otto, a member of the executive committee of the Central Co-op in Frankfurt, described the system as a "pragmatic approach to the need for more freedom and emancipation of the workers in the economic and social sector, combined with a redistribution of power." But Rolf Thüsing, director for social policy and co-determination with the German Employers' Federation, said the recent laws on co-determination at plant and company levels encourage conflict and thus disturb the "social climate." He argued, moreover, that they might be unconstitutional since they do not spell out clearly the rights of property as guaranteed by the constitution of the republic. He said he agrees that there is a need to increase "social awareness" among workers, but suggested that the laws shift the balance of power in industry toward unions and that this might interfere with the collective bargaining system. For all these reasons, he argued,

much more thought must be put into any changes in the area of industrial democracy.

Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the British Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, said industrial democracy in Britain is much farther advanced in the public than in the private sector. But whatever its state, "the struggle for the industrial franchise has begun and there is no turning back." Sir Leonard Neal, a director of Pilkington Brothers and adviser on industrial relations to several other private industrial and commercial companies, was critical of the Bullock Report proposals for worker directors, however. "The primary purpose of democracy is involvement in all phases of planning," Neal said. "Installation of 'representatives' in remote boardrooms will not foster the Maslovian aspirations of a new, independent and highly informed work force."

Residents of South Australia who would implement the Yugoslav form of works council self-management in their free enterprise state received this warning from Dr. Njadan Pasic, a professor of political science at Belgrade University and a member of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia: "Public ownership is an indispensable basis for self-management." He described Yugoslav self-management as not a "ready made" model but as an historical process in which state ownership was transformed into social ownership under direct control of worker organizations.

Philip Bentley, executive officer of the host government's Unit for Industrial Democracy, said the Australian system will likely continue to consist of modifications of forms developed in Europe. He found it most "unlikely that developments in North America and Japan will have much relevance for the development of Australian forms of industrial democracy."

"The desire to support strong ideological or political positions appears to have impeded the collection of sound research data"

A suggestion that different forms of industrial democracy may be appropriate even within one country came from Gordon O'Brien, a research associate at South Australia's National Institute for Labour Studies. His review of research studies shows that the evidence of the relationship between participation, job satisfaction and productivity is not strong: "Many studies do show positive relationships but are difficult to interpret because of methodological weaknesses, contrary findings and the presence of multiple determinants." The desire to support "strong ideological or political positions," he contended, appears to have impeded the collection of sound research data. He concluded: "Given this situation, it appears that no simple set of procedures can be recommended for implementing industrial democracy. Employees, unions and management need to investigate, in particular organizations, the form of decision making that is appropriate to that organization."

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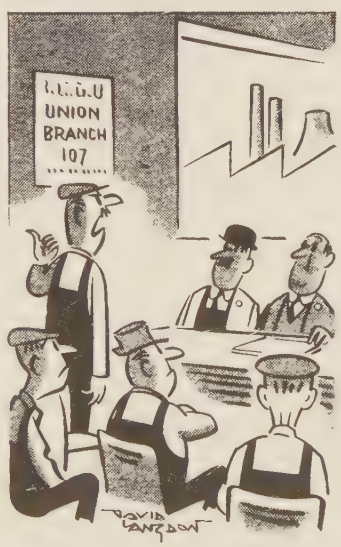

"Workers' participation in industry! What, and share the blame for the way it's run?"

Tony Short, a teacher of company law at the South Australian Institute of Technology, who has undertaken research into industrial democracy in several countries, proposed this precondition for any successful program in Australia: The union movement "must debate and reach a consensus on the degree of involvement the unions want in corporate decision-making...State legislative intervention should come only after this process is completed." To Short, representation was only one of several options: "Of greater importance is the provision of, and access to, corporate information, and legislative intervention for the extension of collective bargaining to traditional areas of management prerogative."

And G.W. Ford, an associate professor in the department of behavioural sciences at the University of New South Wales, said educators have done little to prepare the work force for industrial democracy.

The conference also included examination of several case studies in Australia and other countries and papers on several other industrial democracy areas including the role of shop stewards, economic viability, profit-sharing, middle management, multinational corporations, women and industrial democracy, conciliation and arbitration. lg

R.L.

EDUCATION

Examining paid educational leave

Earlier this year, federal Labour Minister John Munro announced the establishment of an Inquiry Commission on Educational Leave and Productivity (LG August 1978, p.337). Members of the Commission are Chairman Roy J. Adams, of the Personnel and Industrial Relations Committee, Faculty of Business Administration, McMaster University; Claude Ducharme of the United Auto Workers; and Patrick M. Draper, former chairman of the Ontario Labour Relations Board and former vice-president of Canron Ltd. Their terms of reference are basically to inquire into public awareness, interest in and commitment to leave for educational purposes, review current practices in Canada and elsewhere, receive briefs from concerned persons, and — by June 30, 1979 — make a cost-benefit assessment of educational leave and its impact upon productivity and employment.

To fulfill their mandate, commission members plan to receive briefs from interested parties and to hold hearings across Canada. To assist parties to prepare their submissions, the commission has prepared a discussion paper outlining the background of paid educational leave (PEL), examining methods of introducing such leave, and questioning who should be eligible and who should pay.

In addition, the paper lists a number of potential costs and benefits. Among the beneficial effects: increased productivity of the worker through training which occurs while he or she is on leave; and the likelihood of increased motivation as a result of the knowledge that advancement is more possible.

On the negative side, the paper suggests that if employers are required to bear the burden of financing new provisions, their ability to compete in international markets may be hampered; if educational leave is financed through government expenditures, taxes may have to be increased and taxpayers may be unwilling to accept the increase; and individual employers may be unwilling to introduce educational leave schemes for fear that employees who acquire new skills through such training will be attracted to other enterprises.

The June 1978 issue of *Solidarity* had this to say about the inquiry commission: "It's clear that Munro is on a collision course with organized labour on this matter." Referring to the cost-benefit assessment, the publication went on to say, "It's obvious that Munro sees PEL as some kind of vocational training designed to improve workers' job performance to serve the needs of industry..."

Early last May, government, labour, employers, academics and educators from across the country met for the second time in two years to study the implications of introducing paid educational leave in Canada. Delegates attending the three-day Vancouver conference sponsored by the Canadian Labour Congress, the Pacific Association for Continuing Education, and Simon Fraser University, developed a number of long- and short-term strategy proposals for the implementation of paid educational leave.

The last time representatives from the same interest groups met was November, 1977. At that time the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) sponsored a one-day workshop which had as its main theme, the implications of applying the PEL concept in Canada (LG February/March 1978, p.93). It was the first time government, labour, employers, academics and educators had gathered together to explore the significance and likely ramifications of Canada's ratifying the International Labour Organization's 1974 Convention on PEL.

ILO Convention 140 defines PEL as "leave granted to a worker for educational purposes for a specified period during working hours, with adequate financial entitlements." Countries ratifying the Convention are required to "formulate policies designed to promote the granting of paid educational leave for (a) training at any level, (b) general, social and civic education (c) trade union education."

To date the Convention has been ratified by at least nine countries — including the United Kingdom, The Federal Republic of Germany, The Netherlands, Cuba, and Guinea. Seven other countries have developed advanced systems of educational leave but do not meet all the ILO criteria required for ratification.

Canada is not yet on the list. But as a step in that direction, in June 1978, Labour Minister John Munro established the Inquiry Commission on Educational Leave and Productivity.

Gordon Wilson, UAW Director of Education for Canada, who took part in the May 1978 PEL conference, held at Simon Fraser University, countered the Munro approach by saying: "No one can legitimately take issue with the prospect of increasing the skills of our work force. But I can and will take exception to the notion that PEL for workers should only be implemented as long as it is related to vocational training. Wilson also said that unions must use PEL as a vehicle to further the resolve and purpose of workers. He explained that the UAW's PEL program intends to reinforce the notion that workers' organizations are the most valuable structures available to assist the worker in his or her day-to-day existance within society, and we intend to reinforce that worker's pride in being a member of a trade union."

Doug Stead, Manager of Manpower Training and Technical Services, Canada Employment and Immigration, agreed with Wilson that PEL should not simply take the form of vocational training. "One implication of a policy on PEL," said Stead, "will be the realization that occupational education should transcend vocational training and requires the encouragement of greater versatility among members of the work force through participation in programs offering broad general educational experience."

In the keynote address to the conference members Munro reaffirmed his support in principle for educational leave, and said he was "encouraged by the fact that governments are supporting it in a significant way — for their senior people at least. And trade unions are making gains in establishing leave programs — for training their own officers at least. I'm concerned, however, that where educational leave is available, it is on a restricted basis..."

Also concerned about those unable to take advantage of educational leave, is Larry Wagg, National Director of Education for the Canadian Labour Congress. "Paid educational leave," he said, "obviously can help financially, but it won't overcome, for example, the barriers faced by those in the work force who move around as in the construction industry; for women or single-parent families; it will not provide day-care centres to enable people in that position to take courses.

Paid educational leave... "should transcend vocational training and requires the encouragement of greater versatility among members of the work force through participation in programs offering broad educational experience"

We still have not found the solution for the shift worker, particularly in industries that are on a seven-day operation." Wagg went on to say that while paid educational leave would not solve all the education problems in the trade union movement, it would take the weight off the shoulders of the education departments of the administrators of labour education programs. In addition, he explained to the participants, "What we are trying to do is to look to the future to build upon the tradition already established wherein the Canadian Labour Congress Education Department plays the role of co-ordinating education programs through the affiliated unions of the Congress, from there to build a system that will help to motivate our people to move from step one to step two."

Alan M. Thomas, president of the Canadian Association for Adult Education questioned whether or not adults who are tired of paying more and more money for others' education will be willing to pay more of the same for their own education. At the same time, he said, "Adult education has become the largest enterprise in this society, and the range and variety of such participation is already so great that a new precision is needed for commenting on any particular example of it." He suggested we need to think out the way in which existing educational agencies in Canada can best meet the needs of those involved.

Thomas also believes all parties involved in education and training should be involved in the formation and application of the promotion of PEL. "To overlook or deny the need for participation of the individual concerned at every stage will doom the scheme from the beginning and produce results which are already showing in Europe where such programs appear to be further advanced."

Gordon Wilson concluded his address on a positive note. "There is no doubt in my mind that paid educational leave will ultimately fulfill a variety of needs, trade union education, general, social and civic education as well as vocational education," he said. "We have a long way to travel from our present position. When paid educational leave for workers becomes a reality, government, labour, business and institutes of learning will have before them the massive challenge of establishing co-operation, the end result of which would be to increase the level of understanding of all our citizens, particularly the disadvantaged, and to establish a level of tolerance toward others, which I believe will endure." lg

June Coxon

Paid educational leave in Europe and its implications for Canada

For more than a decade international organizations such as the ILO, UNESCO, and the OECD, have evinced great interest in the broad concept of "recurrent or continuing education." From numerous conferences and discussions on this topic a general consensus has emerged about the growing need for more varied continuing educational opportunities for people at all stages of life, to enable the young to bridge the transition between school and employment and to help those already employed to adapt to economic, technological and social changes. Proponents of recurrent education argue that in the long run it is economically efficient, equitable and humanly satisfying.

Many industrialized countries have recognized the need for continuing (recurrent) education and have provided various educational and training programs. The main problem seems to be that working adults can only take advantage of such educational opportunities during their leisure time. For many, the monotony and fatigue of working conditions saps the energy needed for enrollment in educational programs outside working hours. The alternative is that workers be allowed to further their education during working hours.

Now, as a result of initiatives taken largely by the ILO, the availability of educational opportunities to adults during their working life through "paid educational leave" or PEL has become a distinct possibility.

In 1974 at its 59th session and after much discussion, the ILO adopted a Convention and a Recommendation on paid educational leave. The Convention describes PEL as "leave granted to a worker for educational purposes for a specified period during working hours, with adequate financial entitlements," and urges ILO members to formulate policies designed to promote the granting of paid educational leave for the purpose of training at any level; general, social and civic education; and trade union education.

The most significant concepts included in the ILO Recommendation are that:

- workers should have the right to take leave of absence for educational purposes during their normal working time;

- workers should be able to return to their jobs upon the completion of their education without loss of income or other benefits, such as seniority, pension, and so on;

- workers should have the freedom to decide in which educational and training programs they wish to participate, whether it be vocational training or general education.

In Europe, since the end of the Second World War, educational leave has been discussed in the context of other related fields such as adult education, recurrent education, vocational training, youth education, and so on. Therefore, paid educational leave has different connotations in different countries. A cursory look at various national laws and regulations in Western European countries reveals that the current legislation and practices regarding study leave in each country reflect a compromise reached among th main parties involved, i.e., the government, the trade unions an the employers' associations. The also reflect the socio-political ai pursued by each party with rega to this question.

Only in recent years have Canadians shown an interest in discus sing paid educational leave. The Canadian Labour Congress at its 1976 convention adopted a policy statement urging all its affiliates make educational leave a priority in collective bargaining. The federal government has officially endorsed the concept of PEL as defined by the ILO Convention a the Canadian Labour Congress policy statement.

The initiative for educational leav in most Western European countries has come from the trade union movement. Trade unions have had a great deal of success in negotiating some form of educ tional leave at the bargaining tab For example, in France, major French unions and employers' groups signed an International Interoccupational Agreement on July 9, 1970. This agreement acknowledged a worker's right to educational leave and the employer's obligation to maintain hi salary during the period of training. In 1969, in the Federal Republic of Germany, 118 collective agreements concerning 2.6 million workers contained provisions for some form of paid or unpaid educational leave. In Italy unions have negotiated collectiv agreements in recent years whic allow a maximum of 150 hours o paid educational leave.

Legislation on educational leave various European countries has

been adopted only after the social partners have had a chance to express their views on the subject. In presenting the final proposals for enactment, the governments have usually tried to find a middle ground between the positions taken by the unions and the employers. In some instances, the government modelled the legislation on contractual agreements that had already been signed by the social partners. For example, the French law of July 16, 1971 gave mandatory effect to the National Interoccupational Agreement on Training dated July 9, 1970. The 1973 Belgian law on "Credit Hours" was presented to the Parliament only after a great deal of debate and discussion among the interested parties.

Private conventions and agreements between employers and trade unions play an important part in the implementation of legislation in France, Sweden and Belgium. There is every likelihood that in France the law on paid educational leave will be strengthened.

It is evident from the European experience that the ILO concept of PEL is not implemented in its totality. One of the reasons is that the right to paid educational leave cannot be regarded as absolute. It must be considered within a given institutional (labour-management relations), political, legal and socio-economic framework. The costs involved in implementing paid educational leave provisions must also be weighed against competing social demands particularly in an inflationary environment. Given the limited resources, most governments assign priority to vocationally-oriented training which enables the workers to be more flexible and adaptable in the face of economic changes. At present, general and social education is given a somewhat lower priority. Trade union education is likely to increase in importance when unions gain a greater foothold in major industries in the private sector and the Western European style of "worker participation" becomes widespread and accepted throughout the industrial world. In addition to the various educational programs, we need to consider the priorities in terms of groups such as workers in small enterprises, the young unemployed, who have never had a job, and housewives entering the labour market. In Canada, paid educational leave is limited to a large extent to job-related training. Should paid educational leave in Canada be extended to non-vocational courses? Should it be promoted through collective bargaining, legislation or other mechanisms? The European experience indicates that the initiatives for PEL in most cases has come from the labour movement.

In several European countries (France, Italy, Germany), trade unions have successfully negotiated some form of educational leave at the bargaining table. In some instances government gave legal sanctions to the contractual agreements that had already been signed by the social partners. The best known case of paid educational leave in Canada is a clause in the collective agreement between the United Auto Workers and Rockwell International. It provides the establishment of a fund for trade union education. Legislation in the Canadian context should be considered only after such clauses have become common and the social partners have had a chance to debate the issues concerning PEL openly. Meanwhile, various Canadian governments could assist in promoting educational leave policies, by disseminating information on all facets of workers' education, by co-ordinating the activities of various governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in various types of educational and training programs, and by encouraging employers and unions to devote more funds to training and educational programs.

In Canada as in France, a large proportion of business and industrial firms are small-scale enterprises. Governments could assist employers in these establishments in implementing policies pertaining to educational leave by establishing industrial training boards and providing necessary funds. For unemployed youth, apprenticeship training courses along the lines of day-release courses in the United Kingdom could be very helpful.

Governments could support or sponsor courses in the field of general and social education. Such courses could be taught through the CBC or educational TV.

We also learn from European experience, particularly that of France and Belgium, that even though individual workers have a right to PEL, few workers take advantage of it. This means that social patterns and policy-makers must pay special attention to problems of motivation and methods of instruction in order to come to grips with the problems faced by unskilled, semi-skilled and other less advantaged groups of workers in the labour market and the surrounding social milieu. In the final analysis it is the social partners who must work together to reach agreement on the goals and processes of paid educational leave. lg

Hem C. Jain

Mental health programs in industry and the public service

by Bill Megalli

Canadian employers are experimenting with various means of promoting the mental health of their employees, thereby also promoting the efficiency of their organizations. Some have hired in-house psychologists, while others maintain staff counselling services or enlist the aid of community organizations. The government meanwhile is expanding its Employee Assistance Programs (EAP).

Employee mental health is also a growing concern for organized labour. The Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) already has some 1,000 union counsellors plugged in at various localities and is developing its own national perspective on the issue.

While the method and objectives of each approach vary widely, the basic assumption is that nobody is immune from the stresses and strains of daily life and that, increasingly, the average employee must adapt to new and more complex situations — something he or she cannot accomplish entirely on their own.

"We had a sudden rash of people coming from certain departments when computers were first introduced, and the same thing happened during work on a nuclear plant at Douglas Point which involved totally new problems," noted Caron Jones, staff psychologist at Ontario Hydro. His firm probably has longer experience in this field than any other Canadian company, and Jones has been in charge since the position of psychologist was created in the medical services department in 1955.

Ontario Hydro's pioneering role is matched in the public service by the EAP program undertaken since 1962 by the federal Employment and Immigration Department. Mrs. Margaret Fearn, who recently retired after many years as chief of the counselling services division, reported similar findings: there has been a steady increase in the number of troubled employees over the past few years not only because of circumstances related to work but also because of new and fast-paced changes in society as a whole.

The sensitivity of the subject accounts for the absence of clear statistics and studies...

Only a few companies, such as Bell Canada and Alcan Aluminum Ltd., are known to maintain in-house psychologists. Others, like the CBC, have staff counselling services. Dofasco in Hamilton has a very active social works program under Deborah Cassidy.

It is difficult, however, to speak in terms of numbers and statistics because many companies — owing to delicate considerations which may be quite legitimate — consider the subject off limits to open debate. Ontario Hydro's service remained unpublicized for ten years, spreading only by referrals from supervisors and personnel, and gaining credibility through the word-of-mouth testimony of satisfied clients.

Strict confidentiality is also essential if use of the service is t be encouraged, because our society still attaches a stigma to most nervous, psychological and emotional disorders. It is better t suffer unexplainable headaches, high blood pressure or even a heart attack than admit to anxiety depression neurosis, or psychosis That the human brain and nervous system resort to these socially acceptable backdoors to overcom conflicts and personal problems i no longer disputed.

The sensitivity of the subject accounts for the absence of clear statistics and studies, even thoug the idea of having in-house psychologists and social workers dates back to World War I and ha been applied in many American companies. Until recently Canadian firms had not shown much interest, but dozens are now making inquiries and probing various approaches, according to the Toronto-based Mental Health Association, which is pioneering an early-detection plan of its own

These companies are not motivated by any desire to double as social service agencies but are thinking of such negative economic considerations as absenteeism, poor work performance and early medical retirement. Absenteeism, for example, costs the Canadian economy several billion dollars each year and can have crippling consequences at the individual plant level.

Probably no subject is broader and more vulnerable to myths than mental health and it therefore must be handled very carefully. The first question that a company should ask itself is the level at which it wants to intervene. At one end of the scale only cases that reach serious proportions are dealt with, while losses incurred through poor work performance of employees with less obvious irritations are accepted. At the other end of the scale, a company can launch preventive de-stress programs designed to make every employee give the most he can at the least wear and tear to himself. Such programs have been implemented in several American companies but have yet to make their debut in Canada.

There are widely differing views as to the number of people who can be regarded as troubled and the point at which seeking help is advisable. Every one is vulnerable to stresses and emotional ebbtides and some people intuitively transform these into sparks of motivation and develop their own methods of coping with stress. Most people are not so lucky, however. Even the few who are can be more vulnerable to total breakdown and their need for sophisticated professional help can be more desperate.

The scope that can be covered by launching some form of counselling service is very wide. It extends to such areas as career counselling, pre-retirement courses and scores of other services not covered by traditional channels. "In many cases, all the employee needs is someone to talk to, someone to help put things in perspective," noted J. Trainor, co-ordinator

...on a pure cost-benefit basis early detection and treatment is far better than training a replacement, particularly at the highly specialized level

of counselling services at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Many problems appear insoluble under certain conditions but turn out to be surmountable after all. The CBC started its counselling service five years ago because of a perceived need in the face of a fast changing society and technology. "It was simply a case of an enlightened corporation deciding to do something about what was happening rather than ignore it," Trainor said, noting that on a pure cost-benefit basis early detection and treatment is far better than training a replacement, particularly at the highly specialized level. In addition to counselling troubled employees, and where necessary referring them to outside treatment facilities, the CBC last year started a pre-retirement program and helps in many other areas, including career counselling.

Even if the programs are confined to preventive mental health proper, there is more than enough justification. Companies and unions are becoming more aware that they have a vital and inescapable responsibility in this area.

Dr. Roy Menninger, president of the Menninger Foundation and member of the U.S. President's Commission on Mental Health, stated in a recent interview with *U.S. News & World Report*: "Between 10 and 15 per cent of the population have serious mental illness today. If you add those who are adversely affected from time to time by what I term 'problems of living' then as much as 70 per cent of the population could be included. In other words, most of us." He also estimated that 80 per cent of the complaints people take to their doctors — colds, upset stomach, back pains, loss of appetite, insomnia, fatigue — are not physical ills so much as psychosomatic reactions to the problems of living.

SCOOPS **by Doug Sneyd**

DOCTOR, YOU SAY JOGGING CAN ACTUALLY REDUCE THE MENTAL PROBLEMS YOU HAVE HERE?
MENTAL HEALTH HOSPITAL
9/8
DEFINITELY!
I PUT 20 PATIENTS INTO AN INTENSIVE RUNNING PROGRAM AND WE HAVEN'T SEEN ANY OF THEM SINCE.

Statistics Canada reports that there were 129,397 admissions to mental hospitals in 1977, an increase of 2 per cent over 1976 and 41 per cent since 1968. The Mental Health Association meanwhile states that "a very large number of employees, some estimate as high as one in six, are troubled persons whose problems could seriously interfere with their work."

"...a very large number of employees, some estimate as high as one in six, are troubled persons whose problems could seriously interfere with their work"

The 1974 Canadian government's working paper, "A New Perspective on the Health of Canadians," spoke candidly about dimensions of the problem and stressed that "programs of prevention directed at large population groups are desperately needed." The document declared: "Statistics on mental illness are grossly inadequate because of the shame and fear attached to these disorders, which prevent people from seeking treatment....Moreover, the severity of mental illness as described in the statistics is biased by the frequent psychiatric practice of minimizing the diagnosis in the case of young people....Mental disorders, such as anxiety, are a factor in 50 per cent of the patients seen in general medical practice. At any moment three out of 1,000 Canadians are hospitalized in psychiatric facilities."

It was on the basis of this report that the federal "life-styling" program was started. The drive is being engineered by Skip Brooks whose father, a well-known and highly respected labour union leader, was assassinated by a destitute worker. "If that man had received attention and assistance, my father might still be alive today," Brooks said. Despite the tragedy, he is a firm advocate of inter-dependence and collective commitment as well as personal responsibility in resolving spiralling social ailments — the same concepts once so enthusiastically championed by his father. Because the individual exerts little control over his geographic and occupational environment, Brooks stresses that the employer has a particular social responsibility to his employees.

Brooks is also a firm believer in the unity of mind and body. "Dealing with mental fitness within the framework of improving the quality of life is the toughest job of all. But if we start by selling the idea of physical fitness, we have a foot in the door," he said. "The government can only go so far in prevention. This is a responsibility for all: employers, unions, associations, everybody," he added.

Peter Lawless, mental health program consultant at Health and Welfare Canada, believes a very active campaign is needed to convince Canadian companies of the need for a mental health policy. "This is a hard thing to sell. There is very little doubt that mental friction results in downtime or slowtime, but employers need a baseline backed by figures," he said, "and this is not helped much by exaggerated estimates of potentially ill target groups" — or by the obscure jargon used by many mental health program consultants. Nonetheless there are more and more alarming signs. Suicide — in essence an extreme inability to cope with life — is now among the leading causes of death and is the second leading cause for teenagers in Ontario and possibly all of Canada.

Health and Welfare recently announced a demonstration grant to place experienced social work counsellors in two industrial settings — the Manitoba Telephone System in Winnipeg and th United Steel Workers of America Union Hall in Thompson. The project will explore the effects of offering an accessible, confidential, preventive counselling service to employees with personal problems. The federal government is also involved in various other research projects, information and co-ordination, and in hosting mental health conferences.

In efforts currently underway there is a striking resemblance between the employers' approach to mental health and their approach to alcoholism: referrals are made by supervisors on the basis of poor work performance and the employee is subsequently induced to undergo treatment.

The federal employment and immigration department's EAP program for example, was devoted originally to alcoholism, "then it developed greater emphasis on emotional stress and job dissatisfaction" to the extent of adding a clinical psychologist to its staff in 1975, according to Gerald Lefebvre, acting chief of counselling services.

Lindsay Roy, head of the Treasury Board's programs and standards division, occupational health and safety group, notes that a new EAP directive issued in October 1977 allows each department considerable flexibility in tailoring the program to its needs.

"This is not a witch hunt but an attempt to delineate as early as possible people who may have problems, on the basis of a work performance which is consistently below par," said Roy. He stressed that the workplace is the best place to discover aberrations and

get at the problem earlier. Unions were actively involved in drawing up the new policy directive and insisted on very specific wording in some clauses, Roy added.

Enlisting union co-operation is of paramount importance. "We insist on a tripartite union-management-association committee or we won't come in," said John Wayling, co-ordinator of the Mental Health Association's HELP program.

The program is undertaken on a non-profit basis by the Association, which is a United Way agency, in collaboration with the Family Service Association. Counsellors are available at the workplace on a 24-hour basis, with the tripartite committee providing close supervision and follow-up.

"The service is used heavily, and we are interested mainly in prevention, in solving the problem before it gets worse. There are facilities but troubled employees cannot be reached without some connection at the workplace," Wayling said. It is worth noting one project through which the Association reached a considerable number of troubled persons using a most unusual method: training bartenders and hair-dressers to spot cases requiring help and suggest to them means of getting such help.

At present project HELP is being implemented in the Toronto Transport Commission, Warren Lambert Canada Ltd., Molson Brewery Ontario Ltd. and the Toronto Board of Education. "We are getting a lot of inquiries from insurance, oil and other companies, but it takes time for a decision to be reached after the initial approach is made," Wayling noted, adding: "Companies do not see themselves as social service agencies. More and more they see this within the framework of cost saving."

...a very active campaign is needed to convince Canadian companies of the need for a mental health policy

Implementing the program costs between $10 and $30 per employee per year. To some companies this is cheaper than hiring a full-time psychologist. Others believe that employees will avail themselves of the service more readily if the counsellor is not on the company's payroll.

But staff psychologists, too, have gained an impeccable reputation for confidentiality. "The employee is in the driver's seat. If the problem is related to work and he asks that management be contacted, then this is done. Otherwise my records are strictly confidential," Ontario Hydro's Jones said in speaking about the increasing number of self-referrals. Many of his visitors have worries related to the work environment, and a staff counsellor is better suited to deal with these because he knows how the company ticks.

Jones' office is appropriately located within Ontario Hydro's medical services department. The Mental Health Association advises companies not to use stigmatic names and to have as broad a frame of reference as possible for their counselling service.

The CLC fears that staff counselling could end up as a function of the personnel department, thus "giving the company more ammunition to unload an employee," said Peter Lea, assistant director of social community programs at the Congress. "We live in a very distrustful society," he added, "and who is more qualified from the trust point of view to handle counselling and referral than union people?"

Unions, as well as employers play an active role. An example is the Lifeline Foundation of the United Steel Workers of America in Toronto, which provides counselling and referral for a wide range of problems — from marital difficulties to legal aid — and works closely with existing community agencies.

Fine details of the CLC policy are still being worked out, but hundreds of prospective labour counsellors are already receiving some training. The longer-term objective is to negotiate, via collective bargaining, better protection for employees who may require treatment for mental or emotional disturbances. The Congress intends to place at least one union counsellor in each of its 9,000 locals, according to Lea. It is also reportedly negotiating an arrangement by which it would work hand-in-glove with United Way agencies in this field.

Union publications in the United States abound with examples of substantial union action in the field of social work. These publications disseminate views on topics such as "Human Contact in the Workplace" by Leo Perlis, long-time director of community services for the AFL-CIO. Perlis was founder of the CARE organization and has received international recognition and awards for his work in developing the participation of organized labour in social welfare activities.

The new Treasury Board EAP directive may help — in the medium term — to fill the statistical gap found whenever one tries to assess the need for mental health programs at the workplace. The directive, which is being adopted by an increasing number of departments, stresses the need for keeping records and undertaking periodic assessments —

without in any way compromising individual confidentiality. Several departments have already added full-time co-ordinators and a few have psychologists — two of them with the Treasury Board itself — while provincial government departments usually have access to a psychiatrist.

At present most companies do not keep records or do not publicize them. This is telling in itself. Even the stigmatic subject of alcoholism is not treated with such secretiveness.

As mentioned earlier, de-stress programs are having a hard time getting established in Canada, even though one of the world's foremost authorities on stress, Dr. Hans Selye, lives in Montreal.

Adam and Edita Kowalski, working with the encouragement of Dr. Selye, are in the process of transforming his medical findings on stress into a management technique. The Kowalskis — Toronto consultants with an impressive background of stress knowledge and studies enhanced by educational and communication abilities — have published a series of articles on managing stress and are about to launch a Canadian Stress Institute to engineer de-stress programs for companies. "Not a single Canadian company is known to have stress management courses similar to those given to executives in several American companies," note the Kowalskis.

Canada's *Mental Health*, the quarterly issued by Health and Welfare, reported in a recent issue that Rhode Island has become the ninth American State to rule that an employee is entitled to workmen's compensation benefits if it can be demonstrated that the demands of the job result in mental stress. The publication

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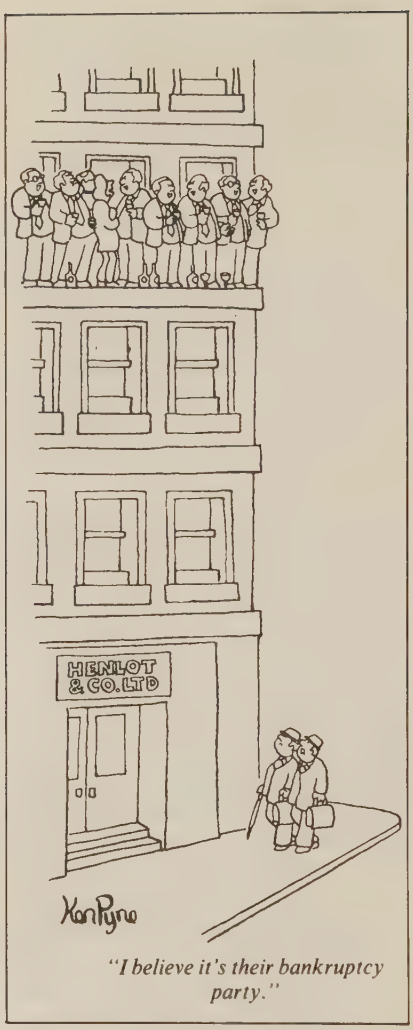

"I believe it's their bankruptcy party."

added: "The ruling is a significant one, given the amount of interest in 'stress' as a major mental health problem. Of further interest is the clarity of the decision, as contrasted with the vagueness in the guidelines surrounding compensation for mentally disordered workers in most provinces in Canada."

...there is a striking resemblance between the employers' approach to mental health and their approach to alcoholism

The Kowalskis emphasize that managing stress is a fine art that can permeate the entire company setting, right down to wall colour and lighting. "It can double, even triple, production," asserts Adam. Many companies now fight fires on an individual basis — alcoholism, absenteeism, low productivity. Often they get discouraged by the results and discontinue. But an expert firefighter digs a trench around the whole area, not around every individual tree," he said. "What we are trying to do is help companies develop programs — a wide, wholistic approach — on a reasonable and realistic level. Stress is not bad in itself, but mismanagement of stress is," Adam continued.

Some employees, meanwhile, are not waiting for a company decision. Visitors to the CBC radio program, "As it Happens," are surprised to see, right in the middle of the office, a sandbag which has apparently taken a lot of beatings. Caricatures of "the boss" are scratched on the sandbag and — as deadlines approach every day and international telephone calls get worse — frustrations are pounded away as they come.

The sandbag idea just cropped up at a staff meeting one morning and was immediately put into effect. Does it help? "It is better than beating your wife," replied George Jamieson of "As it Happens." In Japan some companies provide rooms where breaking glass is the favourite method of dispelling stress.

The important thing to remember is that having a mental fitness program is in itself a great buffer — something like the security one often feels immediately upon entering a doctor's office. The feedback is terrific, and the typical employee reaction is: "It's good to know someone cares about us."

Redefining the foreman's role

by Huntly Duff

High turnover, absenteeism and low productivity are expensive manifestations of an employer's inability to adapt his organization to changes in society. Any attempt to improve the situation will flounder if the man on the firing line, the foreman, is not involved.

Many ambitious attempts have been made at redefining the foreman's role in order to improve the work environment. Those that have succeeded have been grounded in a thorough understanding of what foremen were actually doing and how and why they were doing it.

Why do employees do what their foreman asks them to do? What is the basis of his (or her) authority?

Careful observation of foremen at work often reveals rather mysterious behaviour. Although technology and local determinants play an important role, two general questions should be asked before attempting to redefine a foreman's role. Why do employees do what their foreman asks them to do? What is the basis of his (or her) authority? However, in addition, we must also understand the process of becoming a foreman. If we are to remake the foreman, we must understand how he learned his job and how he developed into what he is today.

If the foreman's presence is to have any effect on the organization, management must be sure that the men will carry out his wishes. The men must feel that it is normal to do what the foreman tells them to do. The foreman's authority must be accepted.

The traditional source of authority derived from the foreman's legal right to hire and fire employees. Those who did not respect the foreman's authority were not tolerated within the system. At the time, this was considered a normal state of affairs. Consequently, as long as the foreman could communicate his wishes to his employees sufficiently, his orders were carried out.

Technical competence is a second justification for accepting authority. The foreman is respected by his men because they recognize that he knows more about the work than they do. Recently, however, technical competence has been called into question as a reason for accepting authority. In order to maintain his authority, the "technical" foreman must always know more about the plant than his subordinates. Unfortunately, technological change has so increased the complexity of jobs, particularly in continuous process plants, that it is difficult for one man to keep abreast of all the changes in his plant. In addition, with increased automation, the operator requires a higher level of understanding of the process than in the past if he is to be efficient. Thus, with the great increase in knowledge and responsibility required of employees, it is often difficult for a foreman to know more about an employee's job than the employee himself. In many instances the modern foreman who can still rely on his technical competence for his authority is either over-trained for his job, or has under-trained his employees. Indeed, the foreman who must rely on his technical competence to maintain his employees' respect often keeps operating tricks and knowledge of the plant to himself so that he can occasionally, or perhaps regularly, help out his employees to remind them of his competence.

...the modern foreman who can still rely on his technical competence for his authority is either over-trained for his job, or has under-trained his employees

A third justification for authority is tied to personality. Leadership, charisma, the gift of the gab — all describe the source of legitimacy held by the foreman whose personality commands the respect of his men. In order to tap this source of power, efforts have been made in some plants to identify "natural leaders." Certain errors were made at the beginning of this process. Natural leaders must not be confused with "informal" leaders. From the earliest studies of work groups, it became clear that the informal leader embodied the "average" worker. Studies of pieceworkers showed that informal leaders usually produced exactly the average output of the group.

It was not surprising that when the "leader of the pack" was chosen as foreman he seemed to loose his devoted following. Notwithstand-

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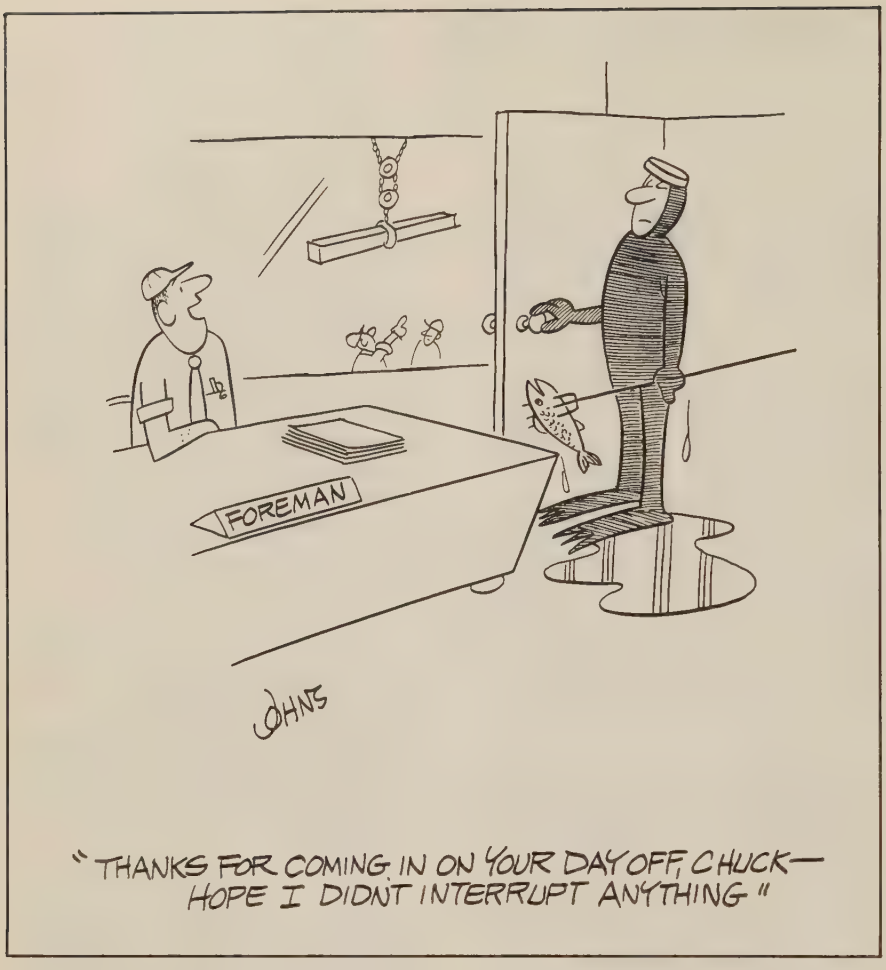


ing, some progress was made in finding and promoting foremen who could rely on their personality rather than their traditional authority or technical competence.

Where no clear competence has set a foreman above the men he commands, some companies have enriched the foreman's role. By assigning responsibilities previously held by his superiors and other departments, they have created an administrative function worthy of the employees' respect. However, where technical or administrative competence cannot be designed into the foreman's job, it can be argued that the foreman is not really needed. Under these circumstances the number of foremen should be reduced, and the work redesigned to emphasize employee output rather than the supervision of employee activity.

...one of the forms of satisfaction traditionally ambitious workers have aspired to has been to have their turn at bossing people around...

Ordinary workers are becoming less and less willing to be bossed. Unfortunately, one of the forms of satisfaction traditionally ambitious workers have aspired to has been to have their turn at bossing people around as they rise through the ranks. If organizations are to maintain their legitimacy in employees' eyes, this form of satisfaction must be designed out of the workplace. Employees must have good reason to respect their superiors' commands.

Clearly the jobs that foremen do and the way they do them must be changed in many established organizations. Two obvious ways of doing this are through the recruitment and training of new foremen and through the retraining of established foremen. However, adapting the foreman to today's workers and technology, through the use of appropriate recruitment and training requires a thorough understanding of the basic steps that a worker takes toward becoming a foreman.

To understand this process, it is useful to divide the individual's experience into four stages. In traditional role theory, these are known as: (1) the Anticipatory Stage, (2) the Formal Stage, (3) the Informal Stage, and (4) the Personal Stage.

First consider the *anticipatory* stage. Any employee who is a potential foreman learns about the foreman's role in three ways. He learns about how a foreman must behave from interacting with and watching his own and other foremen. He gets another picture of what foremen do and how they function from his work mates.

This may contradict what he sees it may explain things that he has observed but was unable to understand, or it may confirm his own observations. A further source of information on the attitudes, values, knowledge and skills necessary to become a foreman is society at large. The people he meets outside the company, and impressions he gains from the mass media play an important role in forming his image of the foreman's role. Evidently the degree t

which this image agrees with the structures within which he must operate determines his success in adjusting to the new job.

The second stage is called the *formal* stage as the rules governing behaviour are written down in job descriptions and standard practices. These are the official rights and duties of his job. The fledgeling foreman learns these rules from his immediate superior and from his fellow foremen. At this stage he is rather unsure of himself and starts by attempting to conform as closely as possible to the formal rules.

The third or *informal* stage in the process of becoming a foreman involves the learning of unofficial or informal ways of doing things.

...becoming a foreman is not a one-step process. It begins before a foreman is chosen

This behaviour arises when the official way will not allow the foreman to accomplish his formal objective. It also results from situations which are not covered by the official rules. From his fellow foremen he learns how to navigate between the official rules and the complex realities of managing men and machines. From them he learns things such as the degree to which training is a foreman's responsibility, or how to apply the rules to men who require disciplining. As he learns the informal leeway that is permitted in his role, he begins to see the possibilities of reshaping the role to fit his personality. As he reshapes his performance to conform with his past experience and future objectives as well as the formal and informal definitions, he develops a personalized role. It is only when he has gained the insight and confidence to impose his own personality on his role, that a foreman becomes truly effective.

The last stage in the process is the *personal* stage. As the foreman passes through the anticipatory, formal and informal stages, he develops his own expectations which he begins to discuss with others. He tries to sort out in his mind the contradictions that he has met in the various stages. In so doing, he develops his own version of what a foreman is. If he does not learn to reconcile these contradictions, he will be an unhappy, confused foreman.

As he gains a picture for himself of what a foreman should be, he begins to try to influence his superiors, other foremen and his employees to build an acceptable common definition of his job. In other words, he imposes his own style on his job.

Thus we see that becoming a foreman is not a one-step process. It begins before a foreman is chosen. It continues as we formally teach him the rules governing his behaviour. Where his formal training fails or contradicts the informal rules, he learns a new definition of his job from his fellow foremen and the men he works with. In the final stage, the new foreman adapts the various conflicting definitions of his role to his own personality and becomes a foreman.

An understanding of the nature of the foreman's authority and the stages of becoming a foreman is clearly important for effective recruitment, training and retraining. But how have the above theories been applied? First consider the question of recruitment. In several plants, elaborate recruitment procedures have been developed in an attempt to select

...explaining to candidates the reason for their rejection should not be neglected if management is to assure the acceptance of the new foreman's authority

foremen capable of coping with modern men and machinery. After carefully defining the kind of foreman needed to handle today's employees effectively, management asked plant psychologists or consulting firms to design a recruitment system to select the men who fitted their new criterion.

In addition to measuring the candidates' capacities to fulfill the formal role, management also looked at their preconceptions of the foreman's role (anticipatory stage) and at their personality and life designs which would predict how they would personalize their role as foremen.

These complex and thorough recruitment methods have contributed to the legitimacy of the newly chosen foreman. The batteries of tests and the series of interviews gave some assurance of the rationality and objectivity of his selection. Employees who failed the selection process but were well informed as to why they were not selected actually aided in raising the general respect for employees selected by this method. The important task of explaining to candidates the reasons for their rejection should not be neglected if management is to assure the acceptance of the new foreman's authority.

Next consider the process of training. Through training, we can adapt the new foreman to management's modern definition of the foreman's role. However, formal training will have little positive

effect on the organization if it is not designed to prepare the candidate for the *informal stage* of his development. In fact, it could be negative and, at its worst, even cruel and destructive. In certain instances, a promising candidate has had a thorough training in how management wants him to act. He has been placed with a group of poorly performing foremen in an attempt to gradually change the department through recruitment. In most cases he either conforms to the informal rules or is broken by his fellow foremen and the workers. Unless the man is a fin leader, the more his informal training deviates from the situation, the more difficult will be hi adoption of the foreman's role. The greater the disparities between the concepts learned in each stage, the greater his difficulties in resolving the contradic tions and personalizing his role.

Retraining is particularly ineffective if individuals are extracted from their group, retrained and returned to the same old environment

Finally, consider the question of retraining. In the light of the fou stages of becoming a foreman, managers will realize why retrain ing of older foremen is so difficu To the foreman who has already developed a personal interpretation of the contradictions in his role, one more contradiction will soon be assimilated into his exis ting view. Retraining is particula ineffective if individuals are extracted from their group, retrained, and returned to the same old environment.

Ideally, the whole group should retrained together, or receive the same training over a short perio of time. Even then, if the environment is not changed, the forces which brought about the informa non-productive ways of working will remain.

Management is often blissfully ignorant of the nature of the foreman's job in their plant. By questioning the nature of a foreman's authority and by exploring the stages of becoming a forema in their particular enterprise, efforts at changing the working environment are more likely to succeed. lg

"I KNOW THAT LOOK—HE WANTS US TO WORK OVERTIME!"

Huntly D. Duff is Labour Relations Superintendent at E.B. Eddy Forest Products Lt Hull, Quebec.

Paul Weiler and the B.C. Labour Relations Board

by John Clarke

The five years Paul Weiler, former Osgoode Hall law professor, recently completed as the first chairman of British Columbia's new-style Labour Relations Board were the best years of his life.

Before he left at the end of July for the cloistered halls of Harvard University, where he'll occupy the Mackenzie King chair of Canadian studies for a year, he said he was quite conscious of the fact that he would never again be engaged in anything he'll enjoy as much as his term at the B.C. board.

That's something coming from a man whose growing reputation as a keen legal mind could and likely will open up many new vistas for him, and who admits to an ambition to serve a term as a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. It's not just that, as an eastern Canadian, he has just spent five years in the most salubrious part of the country or that he was able to take a short three-hour drive from Vancouver to go see the Seattle Seahawks of the National Football League play a game that gives him endless pleasure.

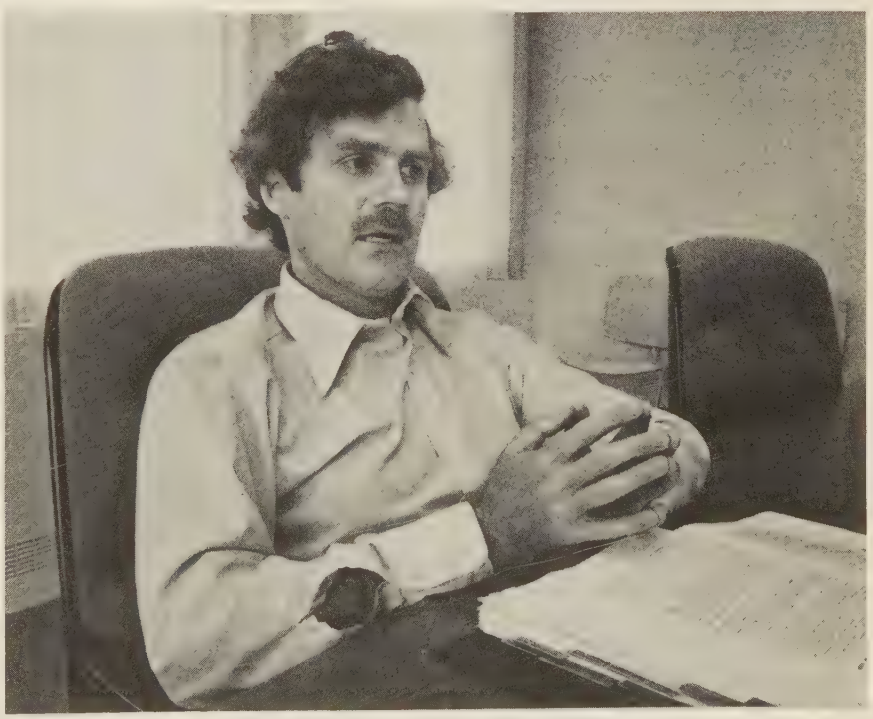
Indeed watching the Seahawks was something akin to his experience on the labour board. He has watched both develop from scratch — the football team as the newest franchise in the American league and the board as the newest, most radical experiment in the management of the labour-relations function in North America.

Both were, for him, the richest intellectual experience a man could wish.

What appeals to him about football over all other sports, including our beloved hockey, is its intellectual dimension. The pleasure comes in watching the game not just for the individual skills it involves but for the stimulation in divining the strategy worked out by the coaching staff and the success or failure of its execution by the players. Reading about the game in the newspapers, wondering why a team would trade one player for another and what change in game philosophy that might represent is tremendously engrossing for him.

Of course, he watches other sports and plays golf and tennis for fun and fitness. But football is his real sporting stimulant, the 'high' that helps him best to relax from the pressures of his professional pursuits.

The appeal of his five years as chairman of the labour board went even deeper, for obvious reasons.



Weiler...best years of his life

"To be in on a process of building something from the ground up, to be one of the builders of concepts that haven't been tried anywhere else, that's an experience I wouldn't expect to have ever again, no matter what I do," he says. That's why he thinks he'll never enjoy anything as much again.

While he has never taught labour law — constitutional law and the criminal justice system being his primary legal avocations — he came by his interest in labour relations naturally. Many of his attitudes and perceptions were forged in debate and argument around the family dinner table in Thunder Bay, Ont. His father, Bernie Weiler, is, by Paul's own description, a hard-nosed management lawyer. His brother, Joe, teaches labour law at the University of British Columbia, and another brother, Bob, practices labour law in Toronto.

His father, according to Paul, would make management lawyers of the current era look like milquetoast and he still practises. But, in the shaping of his son, Bernie had to contend with the likes of Bora Laskin, the current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, and Harry Arthurs, famed labour lawyers of the Lakehead area before it became Thunder Bay.

And there was Archibald Cox, the Watergate prosecutor before Leon Jaworski. Mr. Cox was a well-known labour lawyer before becoming an expert in constitutional law. He was one of Paul Weiler's teachers at Harvard.

So while his main interests were elsewhere, Paul took to labour law for, in his own words, "fun and profit, never for teaching." He has had plenty of opportunity. He did some research for the Rand royal commission and was the author of a study of labour arbitration and collective bargaining in industrial change for the later Woods task force.

He was one of the consultants to whom the New Democratic Party government of former premier Dave Barrett turned in 1972 when it was designing its new Labour Code. It was largely under Weiler's influence that the labour relations board became the centrepiece of that legislation.

"...to be one of the builders of concepts that haven't been tried anywhere else, that's an experience I wouldn't expect to have ever again, no matter what I do"

The code took the power to issue injunctions in labour disputes away from the courts, which didn't want that job anyway, and transferred it essentially to the board. The board can issue cease-and-desist orders, which are the labour relations equivalent of injunctions. And although it has no legal power to enforce them — through threat of penalty, for instance — it can register them with the Supreme Court, which would then have the responsibility of enforcing them.

That single measure has taken a lot of the steam out of the industrial scene in B.C. The bitterness and distrust that marked labour-management relations in the province were exacerbated by the unions' perception of the courts as the allies of business. Injunctions were often defied and some union officials have prison records as a result. That bitterness transferred itself to the bargaining table which was more often than not the scene of confrontation rather than negotiation.

Weiler, of course, was not the originator of the idea of removing the courts from labour relations. But it was he who, primarily, designed the system by which th courts could be removed and wh laid out the framework for a boar in which the functions of admini tration, adjudication and mediati could be smoothly intermeshed. Having done all that, it was only natural for the NDP government give Weiler the first crack at chairing his board. And that cam about because Mrs. Weiler had twins.

He had a sabbatical coming from Osgoode Hall and was set to go the south of France where he intended to write a book on Cana dian constitutional law, when he wasn't sunbathing. Instead Mrs. Weiler had her twins and the idea of coping with new-born twins ar their other two children didn't much appeal to her or to Paul either. So they decided to go to B.C. where her parents had move in the 1960s.

That was in 1972, the year of the great hockey confrontation between Canada and Russia. He was driving across the Prairies, desperately trying to get to a tele vision set in Calgary to see the first game when he heard a radio news flash that the NDP had wor a surprising election victory in B

He knew Jim Matkin, a professor at the University of B.C. who subsequently became deputy labour minister for the new gove ment. That association led to his being consulted about the desig and framework for a new labour relations board.

A few months later, while he was studying and writing at Oxford University in England, he receive a long-distance telephone call from Bill King, the NDP's labour minister, telling him that since t government was prepared to go

his route on the new board, it was fitting that he should run it.

He didn't have to ponder long about accepting the post and entered upon what he now says has been the most enjoyable experience of his life.

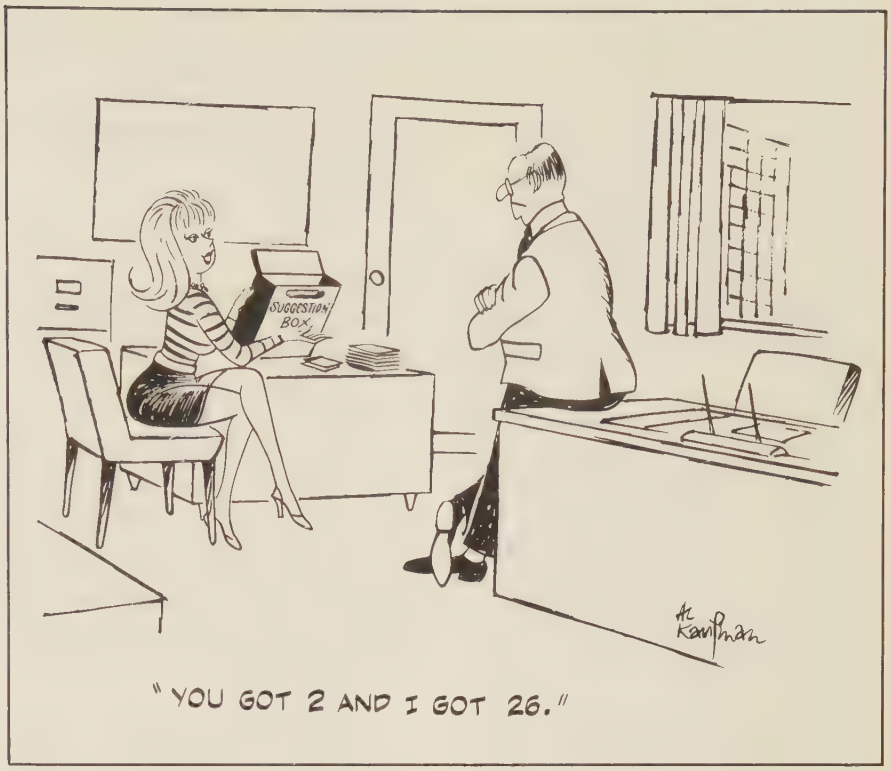
This may seem an odd thing coming from a man still a year away from 40 when life is supposed to begin. But the past five years have been a very revealing experience for British Columbia as well as for him personally.

"When we arrived on the scene," he says, "B.C. labour relations were chaotic. B.C. had the worst record of any place in the civilized world in terms of man-days lost before and since. The relationships were tremendously bitter. There was defiance of the law, RCMP raids on union offices, people killed on the picket line.

"We tend to forget how long a distance we've travelled in so short a time. We now have a system of law, a tribunal accepted by both sides, confidence in the labour laws administered by that tribunal. We have a high degree of consensus among the 21 members on the board. Nobody is going to jail any more; there is very little defiance of the board's orders.

"The top leaders in industry and labour have developed a lot of respect for each other — in the forest industry, construction, the public service, for instance. The confrontationist attitudes on both sides used to make it virtually impossible to bridge the gaps of distrust. We have seen an end to all that."

Board members and union and business leaders are on a first-name basis, often have breakfast or luncheon meetings together and have developed "good, lasting, friendly relationships."



Much of the credit Weiler gives to King. When the NDP took over, the trade unions, which had felt the employers had had a long innings under the Socreds of former premier W.A.C. Bennett, thought it was going to be their turn. But King said no.

It was he...who laid out the framework for a board in which the functions of administration, adjudication and mediation could be smoothly intermeshed

He had, in Weiler's words, the vision to look down the road, see that there would be government changes and that he had to stop the swinging-pendulum syndrome there and then. He wanted to set up a system of labour law that would be fairly balanced and would withstand the changes of time or government.

The new approaches he brought about were radical in Anglo-Canadian law, says Weiler. Almost all other ministers of labour caught up in the inevitable flak produced by such changes would have backed down, waffled here and there and generally watered them down. King put them through and that's why, in Weiler's view, he was the best labour minister Canada has ever had.

The proof of the enduring nature of his approach is that the new Social Credit government of Premier Bill Bennett that took over in 1975 has not tinkered with the broad concepts of King's law.

"The true revolution in B.C.," says Weiler, "comes from the development of a neutral, independent but still administrative mode of operation.

"It was previously thought that impartiality and neutrality required a court. What we have been able to demonstrate at the board is that you can have the advantages of neutrality, experience, expertise, informality, the anticipation of problems that you get from an administrative style of operation while retaining the virtues of independence you get from a judicial system."

The B.C. Labour Relations Board has three distinct advantages over the courts, he believes:

- While a court has no ongoing interest in or responsibility for a labour situation it has dealt with judicially, the board has. It experiences its mistakes. If it boobs, it feels the consequences and often has to move to correct the situation. Its mistakes come back to haunt it and it learns from that experience.

- It has a much wider range of responsibility than a court. It adjudicates. But it also mediates and arbitrates. It investigates the situations confronting it, often on the spot. It can call labour and management officials in on the carpet and it can put off others who want the board to intervene. In other words, because it knows what's going on, it has flexible control.

- Because of these two factors, it can, says Weiler, do a qualitatively better job than the courts.

Why has B.C. become so progressive? Probably because its horrendous record in labour relations had reached the point where everybody was ready for something better. It had reached a watershed.

"The true revolution in B.C. comes from the development of a neutral, independent but still administrative mode of operation"

There's a dramatic appropriateness in all that has happened in B.C. where trade union politics are described by Weiler as truly byzantine, complex, convoluted. And the reason they are is that B.C. trade unions are tremendously democratic, in many respects, he says, excessively so.

"There are no organizations of any consequence in this country that even approach the trade unions in B.C. in terms of democracy, including government," he says. "Union leaders are regularly opposed and deposed. If members can't change union leaders, local units are able to try to change unions through a regular raiding process during which, at precisely regulated times, the members can call for decertification or recertification votes.

"The major virtue is that unions are accountable. This tends to generate considerable irresponsibility at times and hard-nosed, tough-minded union leadership.

"The reaction of the community is rather schizoid. On the one hand the community sometimes criticizes union leaders as being dictatorial, arbitrary and undemocratic. On the other, it says: 'Why don't you resist the demands of your membership'."

In spite of all these difficulties, Weiler sees fundamental changes in attitude developing in B.C. There is a growing acceptance of the even-handedness of the labour laws. Because labour relations are now on a more even keel, it's easier for unions to be sure of approximately the dimensions of the ballpark within which they bargain. These two factors are helping to build mutual respect between the top men on both sides.

As for Weiler's own future, B.C. apparently looms large in it. Lotus land is now in his blood and after two or three or four years following his academic pursuits elsewhere, he hopes to return to B.C. Maybe he'll get his chance on the Supreme Court but for him it would be for a precise term, of say, ten years, and preferably in his fifties.

He believes Supreme Court of Canada work is a gruelling grind and a man can continue at the height of judicial powers for only about ten years. After that he should retire. And why not, if he has a British Columbia to go home to? lg

John Clarke is a senior editorial writer and labour affairs analyst with the Vancouver Province.

Union growth and public policy in Canada

by George Sayers Bain

The growth of trade unions has been a striking feature of most western societies in the twentieth century. Canada is no exception to this generalization: aggregate or total union membership has increased almost tenfold and union density, or the proportion of the labour force unionized, has increased almost threefold since 1921. Viewed over the recent past, however, the growth of Canadian unionism is much less impressive. The great expansion in union membership and density in Canada occurred during the 1940s and early 1950s. Union membership stagnated and union density declined during the last half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s. And most of the increase in union membership and density which has occurred since the mid-1960s is accounted for by the transformation of government employee associations into collective bargaining agents.

At the moment, not more than 40 per cent of all potential union members in Canada are unionized. To put it another way, at least 60 per cent or 5,387,000 workers do not belong to trade unions and "employee associations." And although the aggregate level of union density in Canada is higher than that in the United States, it is considerably lower than that in Australia, the United Kingdom, Austria, Sweden, and several other European countries.

The growth and present extent of Canadian unionism is also less impressive when viewed at a disaggregated level. The density of unionization in some of the most highly unionized sectors of the economy is declining. There are several sectors of the economy — finance, insurance, and real estate; agriculture; trade; and services — where the degree of unionization is very low. Moreover, these sectors contain about 50 per cent of potential union membership, and employment in them is increasing much more rapidly than in the more highly unionized sectors. Women are very poorly unionized and their employment between 1962 and 1975 increased 70 per cent more quickly than that of men. White-collar workers, who represent more than 50 per cent of the labour force and whose numbers increased twice as fast as those of manual workers between 1962 and 1975, are even less unionized than women. In short, employment in the poorly organized sectors of the economy is expanding much more rapidly than in the well organized sectors. If this trend continues, as it is likely to, and if unions do not make a significant advance in organizing the unorganized, the aggregate level of union density in Canada is bound to fall.

Whether or not the lack of unionization among a large proportion of Canadian workers is seen as a problem will depend upon the value which is attached to trade unions. Basically, the legitimacy and justification of trade unions rests upon a belief in the value of democratic decision making. The claimants upon the consideration of the employer-manager include not only the enterprise's employees, but also its suppliers of raw materials, its customers, its shareholders, the community, and the government. The employer-manager cannot govern entirely in the interests of any one of these groups, but must balance the claims of them all in such a way that the enterprise remains economically viable. Thus regardless of how generous, fairminded, or accessible to his staff an employer may be, the very nature of his function will sometimes require him to act against the interests of his employees as they see them. On such occasions, a trade union enables employees to present their views in a coherent form and to provide the countervailing power necessary to ensure that their views are fully considered by the employer-manager.

Unions enable employees to have an effective voice in decision making not only within the firm but also within the wider society. Decisions on economic and social matters are increasingly being taken, or at least influenced, by governmental bodies. It is difficult for employees to be represented on such bodies, to communicate their views to them, or to participate in institutionalized consultation processes with government, except through the medium of a trade union. As Gunnar Myrdal has noted, Western societies are increasingly becoming "organization societies" in which the only way an individual can effectively participate in national decision making is through group representation.

Such representation obviously has advantages for those who are represented. But it also has advantages for society as a whole. David Kwavnick argued in his book, *Organized Labour and*

Pressure Politics, that "the existence and operations of organized groups introduces an element of stability into the political process; they enable government to stay 'on top' of the currents of opinion among the various interests of the country; they enable government to carry on a continuous process of 'fence mending' by continually drawing attention to the fences which require mending; they relieve the government of a large part of the problem of marshalling support behind policy decisions; they often aid in the actual administration of legislation; and, finally, they sometimes relieve government of the necessity of making a decision by reaching compromise among themselves."

A similar process occurs at the industrial level. Since some of the goals and objectives of the claimants upon the consideration of the employer-manager differ, and since he cannot satisfy them all on every occasion, conflict is inherent in the very nature of industrial organization. By making collective bargaining possible, however, trade unions provide a device for structuring and resolving this conflict.

If democratic decision making is accepted as a good thing, or at least as being preferable to autocracy or paternalism, then the lack of unionization among large numbers of workers is a matter for serious concern. For as long as groups of employees are unrepresented in decision making, both within the firm and within consultation processes established by government to contribute to national policy formulation, the process and structure of democracy are less complete. The question therefore arises as to how the growth of unionism can be encouraged.

Research and experience in several countries has indicated many factors which are of overwhelming strategic significance in determining union growth. The first of these is the business cycle and, in particular, such individual components of the cycle as prices, wages, and unemployment. Price rises generally have a positive impact upon union growth because of the "threat effect" — the tendency of workers to unionize in an attempt to defend their standard of living against the threat posed by rising prices — and wage rises have a similar impact because of the "credit effect" — the tendency of workers to credit wage rises to unions and to support them in the hope of doing as well or even better in the future. Unemployment has a negative impact upon union growth because it reduces the relative bargaining power of unions and in this and other ways lessens the attractiveness of union membership.

The impact of the business cycle upon union growth is, however, very much constrained by certain structural factors. The most important of these are the extent to which the employment of workers is concentrated in large groups; the extent to which employers are prepared to recognize unions; and the extent to which the government promotes union recognition. The more concentrated the workers' employment, the more likely they are to feel the need to join trade unions because of "bureaucratization" or the standardization of their working conditions, and the more easily trade unions can meet this need because of the greater awareness of group interests on the part of employees as well as the economies of scale characteristic of union recruitment and administration. The greater the degree of recognition which employers concede to unions, the more likely workers are to join them because they are less likely to jeopardize their career prospects by so doing, they can more easily reconcile union membership with their "loyalty" to the company, and th will obtain a better service as the unions will be more effective in the process of job regulation. It follows from this that the more governments encourage employe to recognize unions by legislative or other means the more likely unions are to grow.

Now that the major determinants of union growth have been indica ted, an attempt can be made to answer the question of how it might be encouraged. Regardless of how intensively trade unions attempt to recruit new members, their efforts are likely to be more successful when the economy is buoyant and when the structural factors discussed above are favourable to union growth. Unfo tunately for unions, however, the can do little to control the buoyancy of the economy while of the "structural underpinnings" of union growth are also beyond their direct control.

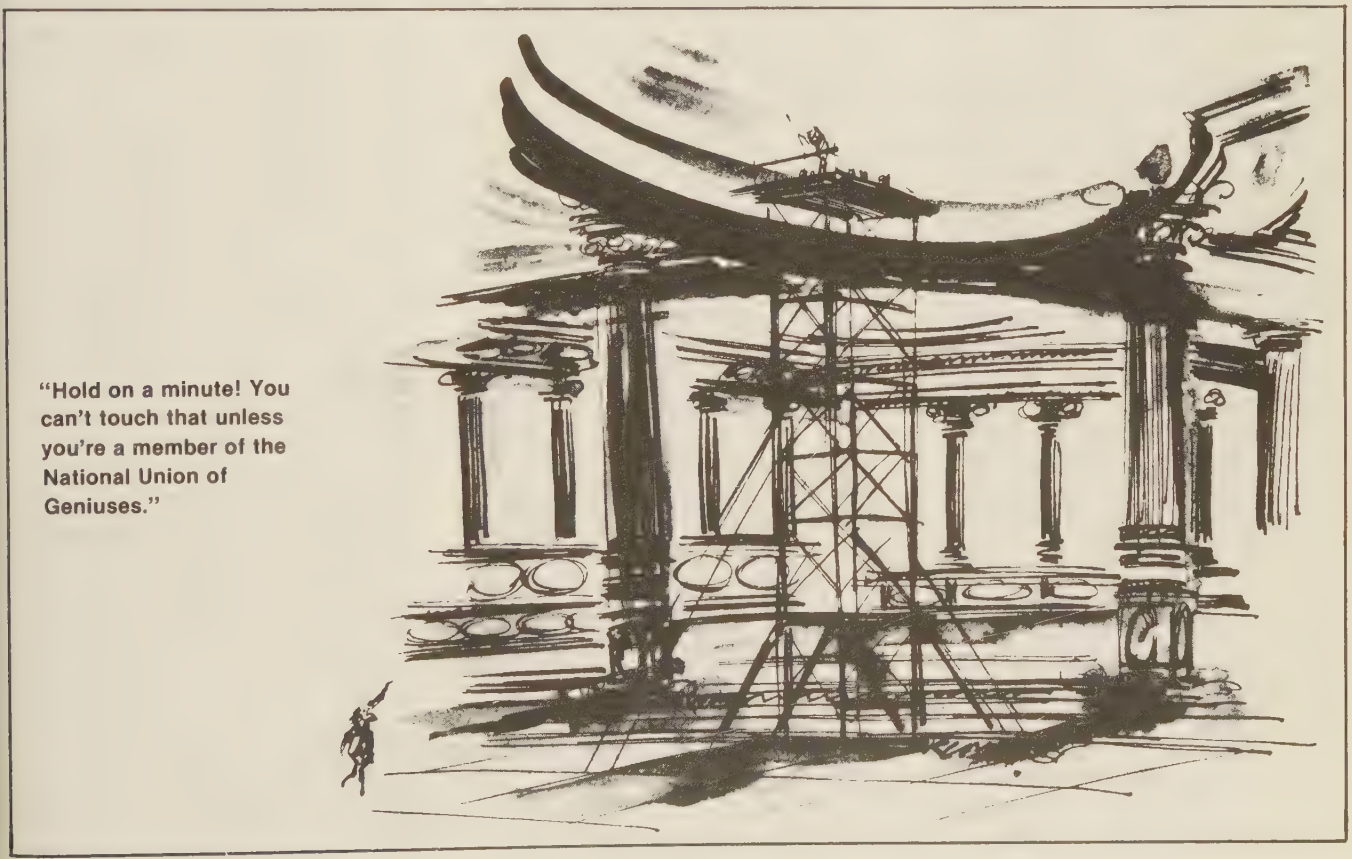
Employers also have little direct control over the buoyancy of the economy, and the size of their firms is primarily determined by market and technological consid erations. But employers could encourage the growth of unions adopting more positive policies toward them. They are unlikely to do so willingly, however, for, as Beaucage noted in a paper he prepared for Labour Canada, "Canadian employers have alway praised the virtues of economic liberalism, the determination of productivity by the forces of supply and demand, and consequently, the major role played by market free of institutional constraints. However, especially since the beginning of the 1950s they...have come to accept more easily government intervention a the development of unionism... which could be described as pra matic; that is, it is oriented towa

negotiation for economic advantages rather than opposition to the socio-political system. Nevertheless, there is even today an element of stubborn resistance to this kind of unionism, even though it has enjoyed legal status and been encouraged in Canada for several decades." This "element of stubborn resistance" is particularly strongly expressed in employers' attitudes to the unionization of employees in the trade, finance, and service sectors of the economy and to the unionization of white-collar employees more generally — the very employees the trade union movement must recruit if it is to remain a dynamic and effective force in Canadian society.

The government could encourage union growth by maintaining a buoyant economy and a low level of unemployment. But favourable economic conditions are unlikely by themselves to bring about a significant expansion of unionism, especially in the poorly organized sectors of the economy, if employer opposition to it remains unabated. Such an expansion is more likely to occur if the government designs and administers its labour legislation so that employers are less able to resist unionization and unions are more able to obtain recognition from them. There are several ways in which this could be done.

"In order to encourage and ensure recognition of the social purpose of collective bargaining legislation as an instrument for the advancement of fundamental freedoms in our industrial society," the Task Force on Labour Relations recommended in 1968 that such legislation "contain a preamble that would replace the neutral tone of the present statute with a positive commitment to the collective bargaining system." So far, only four jurisdictions — Canada, British Columbia, Manitoba, and Ontario — have amended their legislation in line with this recommendation. It would be useful if the other jurisdictions were to do likewise, and if the statement of the "positive commitment" were given greater force by being couched in stronger terms and placed within the body of the legislation. Such a statement would make absolutely clear to those who administer the legislation and to those who are subject to it that one of its major purposes is to promote trade unionism and collective bargaining.

Given this purpose, the protective provisions of the legislation should cover as many employees as possible. For in spite of a trend toward a wider coverage of collective bargaining legislation, some jurisdictions still exclude profes-



"Hold on a minute! You can't touch that unless you're a member of the National Union of Geniuses."

sional and certain other groups of employees from its protection. Alberta, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island exclude members of the architectural, dental, engineering, legal, and medical professions; Ontario excludes members of all of these groups, except professional engineers, and also excludes members of the land surveying profession; and British Columbia has recently passed legislation which excludes university teachers. A large proportion of the members of these professions are no longer self-employed, and there would seem to be no good reason for denying them access to collective bargaining. Similarly, there would seem to be no good reason for Ontario and New Brunswick to exclude domestic employees, and for Ontario also to exclude persons employed in agriculture, horticulture, hunting, or trapping. All these workers should be covered by the protective provisions of collective bargaining legislation.

If the above proposals were implemented, they would be useful in setting the tone for industrial relations in Canada and in broadening the coverage of collective bargaining legislation. But they would not directly do much to curb employer opposition to unions. Public policy would be more effective in this regard if Alberta, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland were to follow the example of the other jurisdictions and expressly place the burden of proof upon the employer in unfair labour practice cases involving alleged victimization because of union membership or union activity. In addition, the scope for unfair labour practices would be reduced if Alberta and New Brunswick were to follow the example of the other jurisdictions and prohibit any unilateral change in the terms and conditions of employment in an intended bargaining unit while an application for its certification is pending. The scope for such practices would be even further reduced if all jurisdictions were to follow the practice which existed in British Columbia before Bill 89 was passed, and allowed the board to freeze the terms and conditions of employment in an intended bargaining unit for 30 days once a union gives notice that it plans to organize that unit.

Regardless of how far the provisions concerning unfair labour practices were enlarged, their administration would be facilitated if the general remedial powers of labour boards were expanded. This objective would be partly achieved if Newfoundland and Canada were to follow the practice in the other jurisdictions and give their boards greater power to prosecute unfair labour practices without the prior approval of the Minister of Labour. It would be further achieved if, as in British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and Ontario, labour boards were allowed to certify a union with less than majority support where an employer commits an unfair labour practice which prevents the true wishes of the employees being ascertained. Such a remedy, as a past chairman of the Labour Relations Board of British Columbia has observed, acts "as a disincentive to coercive tactics because these may well produce the certification, which is the exact opposite of what the employer intended." But certification is of little use to a union unless it can develop, in the words of the Ontario legislation, "membership support adequate for the purposes of collective bargaining." If such support is unlikely to develop, then the board should have sufficient remedial power, as in British Columbia, to order the employer to "make whole" the union for its lawyer's fees, litigation costs, and organizational expenses attributable to the employer's conduct.

Even if public policy were to curb more effectively employer opposition to unions, the latter would still be at a considerable disadvantage in obtaining access to employees and communicating with them. As one labour lawyer has noted, "in an organizing drive, the advantages of communication are markedly with management. Labour has to rely pretty much on appeals via established media at the place of the employer, home solicitations, and meetings at a hired hall. Management has available to it a complete and accurate mailing list of employees, together with the plant itself, wherein employees can be addressed as a captive audience, or on their own time. Furthermore, during working hours other than for relief and rest periods, management contacts with employees are more frequent and more sustained."

There are several ways in which public policy could lessen the inherent disadvantage which unions face in recruiting members. Alberta, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Saskatchewan could follow the example of the other jurisdictions and allow union representatives access to employees where they reside in isolated locations on property owned or controlled by the employer. Indeed, all jurisdictions could go further in this respect. If the objective is to encourage union growth and collective bargaining, there would seem to be no reason — other than an overly legalistic concern with property rights which fails to recognize the increasingly public nature of the modern corporation — why union representatives should not be allowed access to employees at their place of work, isolated or not, at times which do not interfere with production, such as during lunch breaks and between shifts, for the purpose of attempting to persuade them to become union members. And if employers communicate with the

employees during working hours regarding unionization, unions could be allowed to do likewise. Finally, as was the case in British Columbia before Bill 89 was passed, a union could be given access to the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the employees in an intended bargaining unit once it gives notice that it plans to organize that unit.

If the above proposals were implemented, unions would have a better opportunity to recruit members and hence a better chance to demonstrate their representativeness and thereby be certified as bargaining agents. Unions would have an even better chance of being certified if the procedures for representation votes were modified in certain ways. First, rather than requiring — as in Alberta, Manitoba, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island — that more than 50 per cent of the employees in a bargaining unit support a union before allowing it a representation vote, or even requiring 45 per cent as in British Columbia and Ontario or 40 per cent as in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the law could require only 35 per cent as in Quebec and Canada or even 25 per cent as in Saskatchewan. Second, since the lengthy delays which often characterize the processing of certification may erode a union's support, labour boards could be explicitly empowered — as in British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and Canada — to hold the representation vote as soon as possible after the application for certification is lodged and before any formal hearings are held to determine such matters as the status of the union or the exact scope of the bargaining unit. Finally, rather than require a union to demonstrate in a representation vote that it has a majority among all those employed in a bargaining unit — as in Alberta, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Quebec — or require that a minimum percentage of the eligible workers cast their ballots before the election is considered valid — as in British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, and Canada — the law in these jurisdictions could simply follow normal electoral practice — as in Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Ontario — and require only a simple majority among those actually voting.

Regardless of how easy it is to obtain a representation vote or how quickly it is held, it generally places the union at a disadvantage. Piliotis has presented a great deal of empirical evidence, in a paper prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Labour, which demonstrates that the initial support unions obtain through membership is generally considerably greater than the eventual support they obtain through a representation vote. These findings are partly explained by the delays which often occur in holding representation votes. But they are also partly explained by the context in which representation votes are held — a context very different from that of public voting on which political party is to form the next government.

The prospect of a representation vote often produces what the Labour Board of British Columbia has referred to as a "messy campaign" in which the union is, as explained above, at an inherent disadvantage in obtaining access to employees and communicating with them, and in which the employer "may fire some employees, threaten or intimidate others, or promise wage improvements to the entire group, all in order to avoid unionization." Moreover, even when a union has been able to convince employees to become members, some of them may still be reluctant to support the union openly in a representation vote because of a fear — real or imagined — of employer retaliation. For regardless of the outcome of the vote, the employer is in a position to make life difficult for those who supported the union. And although the vote is by secret ballot, it is conducted on the employer's premises and in the presence of an employer representative (scrutineer), and this may cause some employees who support the union to vote against it or, especially in those jurisdictions where abstentions count against the union, to abstain from voting.

Hence less reliance upon representation votes and more use of "outright certification" on the basis of initial membership support is likely to promote union recognition and growth. All jurisdictions in Canada — except Nova Scotia — provide for outright certification, but it is not granted in British Columbia and Ontario unless more than 55 per cent of the bargaining unit are union members; and although outright certification *may* be granted in New Brunswick if more than 50 per cent of the bargaining unit are union members, it *need* not be granted unless membership exceeds 60 per cent. Clearly, outright certification would be easier to obtain if all jurisdictions took an untechnical and non-legalistic view of what constitutes support for the union. What is important is not whether a majority of the employees in a bargaining unit are "legally" members of the union but whether they wish the union to represent them. Finally, outright certification would be easier to obtain (as would representation votes) if, as in British Columbia, support for the union, however defined, were assessed as of the date the board received the union's application rather than as of some subsequent date such as that of the hearing. Such a provision would ensure that a union's application for certi-

fication would not be endangered by any loss of support which resulted from procedural delays.

Even if support for the union were assessed as of the date of its application, the longer it has to wait to be certified the more likely its support will be dissipated and the more likely it will have difficulty in obtaining a first contract from the employer. The gap between application and certification is likely to be smaller the less labour boards use formal hearings and the more they rely upon the investigations of their industrial relations officers. Thus boards should not be required, as they are in Ontario, to hold a hearing in every case, and the board rather than the parties should have the right to determine in which cases formal hearings are necessary. And where formal hearings are necessary — for example, to resolve disputes over the composition of the bargaining unit — labour boards could be empowered, as in Ontario, to grant "interim certification" pending the resolution of the dispute if its outcome cannot affect the union's right to certification. Any procedural delays which then occurred would not prevent the union from beginning to bargain with the employer and thereby consolidating its support by demonstrating that it was doing something for the employees.

All of the above proposals are intended in one way or another to help unions to satisfy the criterion of representatives which labour relations boards apply in deciding whether or not to certify them as bargaining units. Although this criterion is widely regarded as being fair and reasonable, it works to the disadvantage of any union which is seeking recognition from an employer. For representativeness and recognition are not independent phenomena but are closely related and interact.

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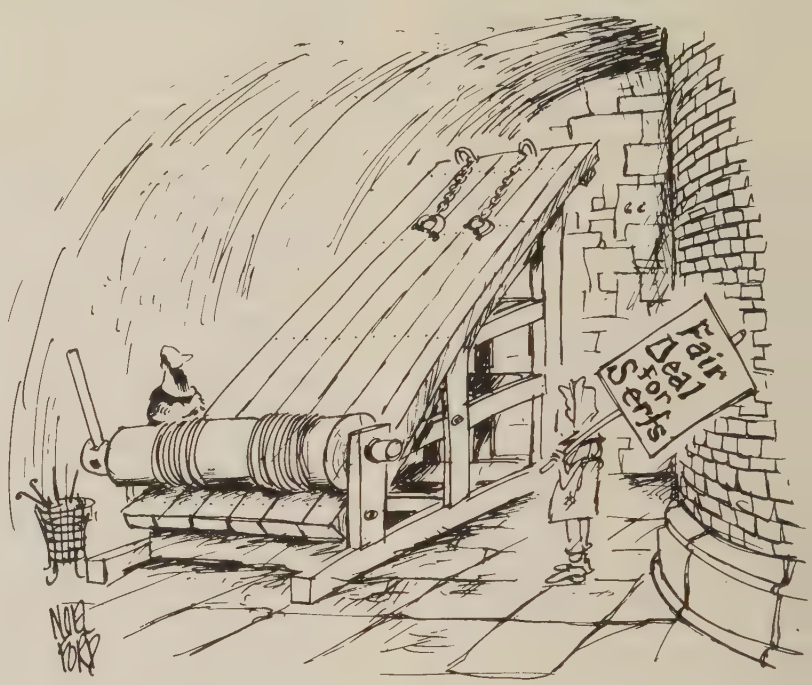


"His Lordship thought you might care to inspect the negotiating machinery."

In the words of the Commission on Industrial Relations in the United Kingdom, "the act of recognition...tends to bring about a significant change in employee attitudes...Once a union is recognized and seen to be accepted by an employer, employee support will develop and opposition from other employees will lessen." In short, the criterion of representativeness works to the disadvantage of unions because the absence of recognition is one of the major factors impeding the growth of union membership. The interdependence between union membership and union recognition is not an argument for completely abandoning the criterion of representativeness and for granting recognition to unions before they have any representativeness whatsoever. But it is an argument against applying this criterion too stringently.

All jurisdictions in Canada define representativeness to mean that a majority of the employees in a bargaining unit wish a union to represent them. If a union can demonstrate this degree of representativeness, it is certified as the exclusive bargaining agent for the bargaining unit, and as such it is legally obliged to represent fairly all the employees in the unit whether or not they are union members. Most supporters of this procedure justify it by an analogy with representative democracy in the political sphere. They generally see it, as a remark by Bob Repas illustrates, "as an extension of the concept of majority rule. Just as the winning political party enacts legislation for all the people, the union winning exclusive recognition negotiates for all employees in the bargaining unit."

If this political analogy is pursue

however, it reveals that the criterion of representatives is applied much more stringently in the industrial than in the political sphere. Representative democracy in the political sphere, at least as practised in Canada and many other countries, enables a citizen who acquires more votes than any other citizen in a particular constituency to become its representative, and a political party which commands more support than any other political party among the elected representatives to become the government. In contrast, in the industrial sphere a union which has more support than any other union among the employees of a particular bargaining unit cannot become their representative unless it can also demonstrate that a majority wish it to represent them. If it cannot demonstrate this degree of support, then no one in the bargaining unit is entitled to be represented by the union. In other words, in the industrial sphere, unlike in the political sphere, those who do not want collective representation can deny it to those who do.

Thus collective representation in the industrial sphere is not a basic right which is available to anyone who wishes it, as it is in the political sphere, but a privilege which has to be earned. Moreover, in return for being allowed the opportunity to earn this privilege, unions and their members have had to pay a high price: the loss of their right to strike for recognition. Hence, even where unions have sufficient industrial strength in spite of minority membership to force employers to concede recognition, they are rendered impotent. In short, the legislative procedures for obtaining union recognition involve an exchange in which the state may currently gain more in industrial peace and stability than unions gain in recognition and growth.

There are several ways in which this exchange could be made more favourable to unions. As indicated above, a union owes a duty of fair representation to all the employees in a bargaining unit for which it has been certified. Unions have not asked to be allowed to represent non-members; they are generally quite content to represent only their members. The duty of fair representation has been laid upon them by public policy, and the very least public policy might do is to ensure that all employees in a bargaining unit, and not just union members, pay for the representation which they receive. The doctrine of fair representation, as the Task Force on Labour Relations noted a decade ago, supports the agency-shop form of union security. It therefore went on to recommend "that the compulsory irrevocable check-off of regular and reasonable dues be available to a certified union as of right upon the negotiation of its initial collective agreement and thereafter, and that this right be extended to a union recognized voluntarily by the employer." The passage of Bill 45 in Quebec has given effect to this recommendation of the Task Force in this jurisdiction.

If it were given effect in the other jurisdictions, it would help unions to consolidate their position once they had been recognized. But it would do nothing to help them to demonstrate the representativeness which is necessary to obtain recognition. Labour relations boards could help in this respect if they always bore in mind that representativeness is determined not only by the number of employees who support a union but also by the size of the bargaining unit over which this support is assessed. The Canada Labour Relations Board clearly had this point in mind in a recent case in which it decided against the wishes of the employer that a single branch of a national bank was an appropriate unit for collective bargaining. It noted that "the express intention of Parliament is 'the encouragement of free collective bargaining'," and then went on to argue that "this legislative intent can best be achieved by facilitating collective bargaining for employees who choose this procedure for settling their terms and conditions of employment.

That can be accomplished by this Board accepting or fashioning bargaining units that give employees a realistic possibility of exercising their rights under the Code. Too large units in unorganized industries will abort any possibility of collective bargaining ever commencing and defeat this express intention of Parliament. At the same time, this does not mean the Board will or should create artificial units based on extent of organizing. This would ignore the purpose of the Board's role." The above statement suggests that although the Canada Labour Relations Board in determining bargaining units takes into account the need for a "long term bargaining structure" which will lend itself to stable industrial relations, it also places considerable emphasis on "the freedom of choice of employees to group into self-determined units" which can be fairly easily unionized in the short-term. It, and other labour relations boards in Canada, would perhaps be able to place even more emphasis on the latter consideration if, as in British Columbia, they had the power to take the initiative to rationalize into larger units those bargaining structures which prove over time to be unduly fragmented.

Regardless of how bargaining units are designed, unions would find them easier to organize if the criterion of representativeness were applied less stringently. For example, the criterion could be applied in Canada, as it is in

certain other countries, so that employers would be required to recognize and bargain with any union which had any representativeness whatsoever in a particular bargaining unit. The advantage of such a procedure is that collective bargaining would be made available to all those who wanted it however few they might be in a particular bargaining unit; the disadvantage is that it would generally result in the workers in a particular bargaining unit being represented by a multiplicity of bargaining agents.

The advantage of the above procedure could be retained and its disadvantage overcome, however, if the criterion of representativeness were applied, as it is in some countries, so that employers were compelled to recognize and bargain with that union which was "most representative" of the employees in a particular bargaining unit regardless of whether or not it represented a majority of them. Such a procedure would mean that a majority which did not want collective bargaining could not deny it to a minority which did, but the procedure would also mean that the bargaining would tend to apply as much to the majority which did not want it as to the minority which did. For even if the law were to allow employers to apply different terms and conditions of employment to unionists than to non-unionists in a particular bargaining unit, they would probably be reluctant to do so for administrative and other reasons. Hence the question arises as to whether the rights of a minority which feels that its members' interests can be safeguarded only by collective bargaining are more important than the rights of a majority which feels that its members are able individually to defend their interests. People will give different answers to this question depending, among other things, upon how basic a right they consider collective bargaining to be, how much they consider the members of the majority lose if the results of collective bargaining are "unavoidably" extended to them, and how much they consider the interdependence, discussed above, between recognition and representativeness places unions at a disadvantage in attracting members.

Even if the above question is answered in favour of the majority, the minority need not be left without any form of collective representation whatsoever. The rights of a majority which did not want collective bargaining would not be infringed if public policy were to give unions the right to be heard, the right to be consulted, and the right to process individual grievances on behalf of any member who was not already covered by a certified bargaining agent. Such "representational rights" are often conceded to unions in the United Kingdom in areas where they do not have sufficient support to obtain full negotiating rights, and some of these rights were conceded under Executive Order 10,988 in the United States to unions in the federal civil service. If similar rights were conceded to unions in Canada, they would be better able to provide a service for employees who did not have a certified bargaining agent and, by so doing, to build up support amongst them.

If the above proposals were implemented, unions would have a better chance of being certified as bargaining agents by labour relations boards. But, as Ed Finn has pointed out recently in *The Labour Gazette*, "even when certification is granted, a resolutely anti-labour employer still has one last weapon to employ — and it is a powerful one. That is to prolong negotiations for a first contract indefinitely, and either provoke a strike he knows the union can't win, or use the delay to incite employee discontent with the union. In either case, such an employer often succeeds in getting rid of the union through a decertificat application — one he has himse fostered by frustrating the union efforts to get anywhere at the bargaining table." The force of Finn's view is illustrated by a recent case in Ontario. The Onta Labour Relations Board found th an employer was attempting to undermine the negotiation of a first agreement, and it ordered t employer to meet with the union and bargain in good faith or face the prospect of contempt-of-cou proceedings. Yet ten months lat the union had still not been able obtain a first agreement, and a majority of the employees voted have it decertified. The union explained that it did not take an further proceedings before the board and the courts because it "legal advice had been that it would be difficult to obtain a contempt-of-court citation and penalty from the courts for a matter as difficult to pin down a failure to bargain in good faith."

British Columbia has tried to strengthen the position of newly certified unions by providing for first-contract arbitration. Its labo relations board may, at the requ of either party and as directed b the Minister of Labour, impose a first collective agreement for a one-year term. A similar provisio has been introduced in Quebec the passage of Bill 45 and in the federal jurisdiction by the recen amendments to Part V of the Canada Labour Code. Manitoba has a weaker but related provisi which stipulates that where an employer unilaterally alters any term or condition of employmen within 15 months after a union i certified and no collective agree ment has been achieved, the un may require the employer to prepare a written code of emplo

ment which becomes effective for one year and applies as though it were a collective agreement.

First-contract arbitration is no doubt a better deterrent against bargaining in bad faith than the standard devices of cease-and-desist orders and contempt-of-court proceedings. But, as presently conceived, it does not seem to be realizing the hope of its advocates "that an enforced, one-year 'trial marriage' might erase enough of the distrust and bitterness so that meaningful collective bargaining, directed at the real issues, will be possible when the time for renewal arrives." In several of the cases in which a first agreement has been imposed since first-contract arbitration came into effect in British Columbia in 1974, the union has failed to obtain a second agreement when the first expired.

A newly certified union would be more likely to establish a permanent collective bargaining relationship with an employer if it had access to compulsory arbitration for a longer period: say, until five years had elapsed since certification or, if the union were unable to negotiate at least one agreement by itself during this period, until such time as it was able to. Public policy could even go further and make compulsory arbitration the remedy for bad-faith bargaining regardless of when it occurs. And if unions were granted "representational rights" on behalf of any member who was not already covered by a certified bargaining agent, as suggested above, they would be better able to process individual grievances if they were given access to compulsory arbitration in respect of at least a limited range of issues such as discipline and dismissal.

A final way in which public policy could facilitate the certification of unions as bargaining agents would be to ensure that the decisions of labour relations boards were not subject to judicial review. For even if a court upholds a labour board's decision, the process of reviewing it delays its implementation, and delay generally weakens the union's position. Judicial review has become such a problem that, to take one example, the Canada Labour Relations Board was recently moved to note that "to date, over six per cent of final orders and decisions issued by the Board have been the object of proceedings in the Federal Court of Appeal. Although in only one instance was the Board's decision set aside, these proceedings have substantially delayed the implementation of Board orders and jeopardized in some situations access to effective collective bargaining. Such delays are particularly disquieting where Board orders are for the reinstatement and compensation of employees discharged or discriminated against contrary to the provisions of the new Part V of the Code."

All jurisdictions in Canada have tried to prevent judicial review of labour board decisions by enacting privative clauses in the relevant legislation. They have not achieved their objective, however, because the courts have generally taken the view that the privative clauses do not prevent judicial review where a board is alleged to have exceeded its jurisdiction or to have ignored the rules of natural justice. In an attempt to prevent judicial review on these and all other grounds, British Columbia has enacted a very strongly worded clause. It remains to be seen whether the wording of this privative clause will be sufficient to keep the courts at bay. But, if the objective is to encourage union growth and recognition, this wording is clearly a step in the right direction and a step which other jurisdictions should take. A supplementary step which could be taken, especially if the courts continue to intervene, is to allow board decisions to be implemented and enforced pending the outcome of a review.

The introduction of the measures discussed in this paper would obviously benefit trade unions and their members. But it would also be more generally beneficial. Thomas Donahue of the AFL-CIO recently pointed out that unions in North America "exist in a society hostile to trade unionism in a different way than is true in Europe.

In our exclusive recognition-or-nothing system we 'go for broke' against an employer who is fighting not against the way in which we work, not against the specifics we seek, but rather against our very existence in his plant. While I don't think employers elsewhere in the world welcome unions with open arms, I do think their opposition is different in kind and doesn't threaten union existence." This state of affairs helps to explain why the level of industrial conflict in Canada (and the United States) has consistently been among the highest in the world. Moreover, the fact that unions in Canada "perceive themselves as being under attack" and "feel that they must be constantly on guard to protect the shaky rights they have had to struggle so hard to establish" also helps to explain, as Roy Adams has recently noted in *The Labour Gazette*, why they are so "defensive and suspicious of any government or management initiatives" to improve industrial relations. Unions in Canada would be more likely to respond positively to such initiatives if they were granted greater legitimacy and institutional security. The introduction of the above proposals would contribute toward this end. lg

The foregoing is based on a discussion paper prepared by Professor Bain for Labour Canada's Employment Relations Branch. The author, a Canadian, is director of the Social Science Research Council's Industrial Relations Research Unit, University of Warwick, Coventry, England.

What's wrong with unions?

by Kenneth McDonald

To ask the question, "What's wrong with unions?" is to beg the related questions that apply to other pressure groups in society. Labour unions, businessmen, environmentalists, educators, consumer advocates, social activists — all seek to advance their own interests through the coercive power of government.

The misuse of government power to favour some groups of people at the expense of the public in general is the prime cause of government's remarkable growth in size, influence and cost.

Perhaps the chief obstacle to correcting the resultant abuses is a failure to recognize that the tendency for power to accumulate is a natural phenomenon. Diffusing it requires not only constant effort but a constant awareness that the effort needs to be made.

Failure to understand both the phenomenon and the fact that it is natural leads to a personalization of issues which deserve to be approached objectively. Thus accusations are levelled at this company president, or that union leader or the other politician or civil servant when each is acting rationally within his or her own circumstances.

Though labour unions are no different in this respect from other pressure groups, their personalizing of issues is especially virulent for it is being applied to union members and to employers as separate, distinct and uniform classes of people.

Thus a leading union commentator wrote, in September 1977, of union leaders' difficulty "to 'sell' their constituents on a partnership with their traditional enemies, the bosses and the politicians." And again, referring to a mood among union members to respect the government's anti-inflation controls on wage settlements: "Their pacifism is a worrisome trend for union leaders now pledged to a resumption of warfare."

The importation from Britain of the "us and them" fixation sets Canadian unions apart from the U.S.-based international unions to which so many of them are affiliated. Certainly there is confrontation in the U.S. between union members and employers but it is within a mutual acceptance of the competitive free enterprise system. Like any human system it is always open to improvement but there is no intention to overthrow it.

The importation from Britain of the "us and them" fixation sets Canadian unions apart from the U.S.-based international unions to which so many of them are affiliated

The dedication of many Canadian union leaders to various forms of socialism, and to the consequent expansion of government intervention which is inseparable from that political doctrine, sits oddly with their identification of government as enemy. The reason is plain enough. Government is also characterized as employer. Its growth in Canada has been accompanied by an even faster growth of union membership among civil servants. In some civil service unions membership now approaches 100 per cent of eligible workers.

Characterizing government as employer may be convenient for union leaders bent on inciting militancy, but it is hardly consistent with the democratic principle of government by consent. There is no denying that it has worked. The hostility between citizens, including citizens who belong to private-sector unions, and other citizens who nominally "serve" them as employees of the common government, is a development as divisive as it is outmoded.

In Britain, the cradle of unionism, a recent poll of union members showed considerable disenchantment with union power. Although 85 per cent of those polled thought that trade unions were essential to protect workers' interests, 68 per cent thought unions have too much power and that the police should be authorized to stop mass picketing. Some 66 per cent regarded the union closed shop as a threat to individual liberty.

In Canada polls put big labour (i.e. unions) ahead of big government and well ahead of big business as the most serious threat to Canada's future. One national poll recorded 78 per cent opposed to strikes in services such as health

are, police and fire protection, ducation, hydro and mail.

)f the two questions posed, amely about the most serious nreat and about strikes in essen- al services, the first is the more ignificant. It confirms the point nade earlier that the real threat to berty — excessive government rowth — is still not recognized.

This ambivalence toward govern- nent finds its clearest expression n the union movement. For public ervice unions government as mployer is the enemy. But for hem, as for private-sector unions, overnment's coercive power has een and continues to be the chief nstrument in consolidating and trengthening union power.

Observe how union members and unions collectively flout the law with impunity:

- crimes against persons and property during the course of strikes are overlooked as a condition of settlement;

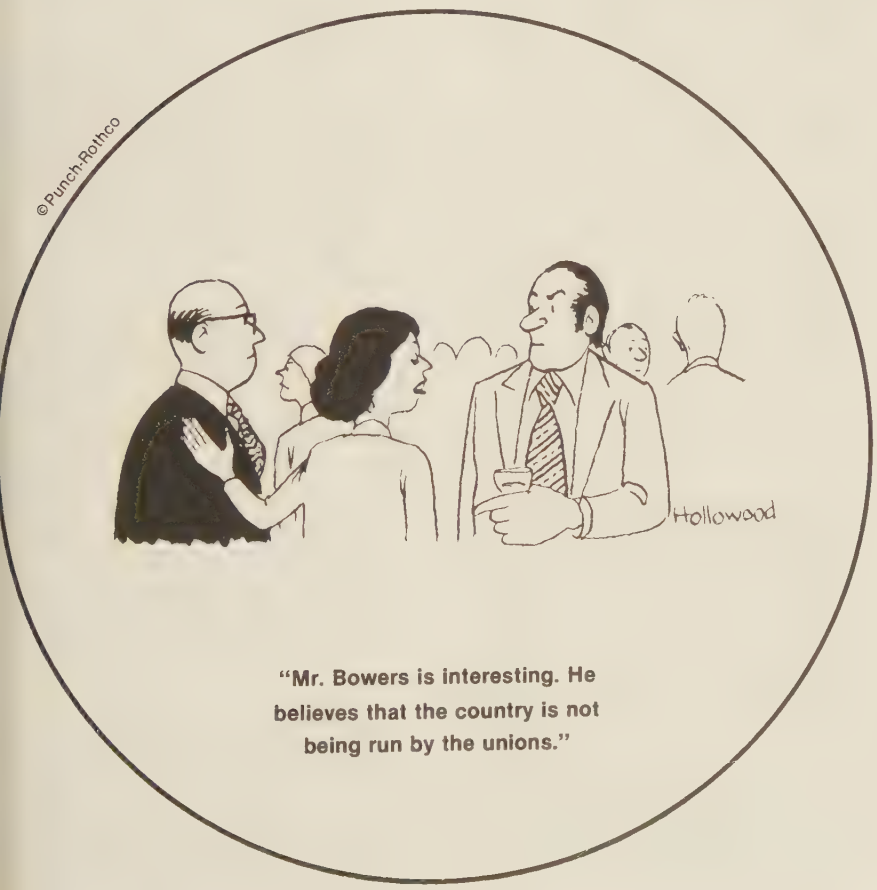
...the most potent example of the law's perversion in favour of unions is in the application of the Rand formula

- "peaceful" picketing is allowed to assume the characteristics of civil war;
- strike balloting is manipulated;
- the law which properly requires the employer to abide by settlement terms reached with union negotiators allows the union membership to overturn them.

Perhaps the most potent example of the law's perversion in favour of unions is in the application of the formula named for Mr. Justice Rand who, in the preamble to his award, made some observations as topical today as they were when he rendered them in 1946.

For example: "Beyond doubt picketing was carried on in an illegal manner. The resistance to the preservation of plant property was from the standpoint of the strikers a supreme stupidity. The filling of the street alongside the plant with vehicles and the interference with innocent members of the public was an insolent flouting of civil order. But beyond doubt too, there was exasperation and provocation, and these actions seem to indicate the intensity of conviction on the part of the men that fair demands were being met only by stolid negativism. No one attempts to justify these actions, but a strike is not a tea party and when passions are deeply aroused civilized restraints go by the board unless the powers of order are summoned to vindicate them. Illegal action is for the civil authority to deal with. That authority must take the risk of temporizing with lawlessness. If broken heads are the only alternative to protection of members of the public, I do not understand that public safety must be abandoned."

Union leaders and press commentators have been so successful in identifying the Rand formula with the compulsory dues check-off that the conditions attached to the award are unknown to the public. Over the years those conditions have been eaten away by public apathy and political indulgence to unionism, above all by the mounting cost of capital invest-



"Mr. Bowers is interesting. He believes that the country is not being run by the unions."

ment in plant and machinery, by the ruinous cost of shutting them down, and the resultant pressure upon employers to avoid strikes at the price of almost any concession. It is in this last, especially, that the balance of power has shifted to unions.

That such an imbalance was far from Mr. Justice Rand's intent is made clear from his Terms of Award, which made the compulsory dues check-off subject to the following conditions:

- No strike, general or partial, without a vote by secret ballot, supervised by the government, of all employees covered by the agreement.

- The union to repudiate any illegal or unauthorized strike and declare any picket line supporting such a strike to be illegal and not binding on its members.

- Any employee participating in such a strike to lose one year of seniority for every week or part thereof of absence from work and to be fined (1946) $3 per day.

- A union failing to repudiate such strike or picket line to lose all right to the dues check-off for a period varying from two to six months.

- After 10 months from the start of the (compulsory check-off) agreement, 25 per cent of the employees could demand a secret ballot, held by the Department of Labour, to determine if the union would continue as the bargaining agent of the employees.

What has come to be known as the Rand formula, and to be demanded as a "right" by unions seeking recognition, is nothing of the sort. It has been reduced to a device for compelling all employees, whether they belong to the union or not, to pay union dues and for compelling employers to collect them. Union leaders attempt to justify the device by claiming, as one was quoted as saying recently, that "otherwise the union would have to be continually organizing new employees." Any resemblance between labour unions and voluntary associations ends right there.

...unions have used their power to extract concessions that set them apart from the rest of society

In short, unions have used their power to secure concessions that set them apart from the rest of society. The power is part political, deriving from politicians' mistaken perception of the union membership as a bloc vote, part intimidation, exerted by physical violence and the threat of violence, part collective "bargaining" so one-sided as to be little short of blackmail.

Whatever form it takes, union power derives from government. Whether active, as in imposing upon employers restrictions from which unions are exempt, or passive, as in condoning unions' selective repudiation of the Rand formula, the coercive power of government is unions' prop and club.

Just as excessive government threatens the freedom of all Canadians, employer, employee and self-employed alike, so does union power, which derives from excessive government, threaten their freedom in much the same way.

One thing is certain. Cures for the abuse of power will not be found in the law which has been perverted to bring it about. They must be sought not through arbitrary means but through voluntary or

A first step might be to recogni what has become, in the past fe years, increasingly apparent: tha government's manipulation of th economy has been calamitous; that the economists who influer governmental policies don't kno what they are doing; and that th country's prosperity depends no upon sterile confrontations between groups seeking power themselves but upon freedom fo individuals to devote their talen to the creation of wealth.

Whatever role those individuals play in the process, there is no doubt that they all earn a share the proceeds. The difficulty lies deciding how that share is to be determined. Efforts by governm to redistribute income have bee singularly unsuccessful.

Just as excessive governmer threatens the freedom of all Canadians...so does union power, which derives from excessive government

In his report for the C.D. Howe Research Institute (*In Search of Robin Hood*, April 1978), Dr. W. Irwin Gillespie, Professor of Economics at Carleton Universit concluded that: "The empirical evidence demonstrates that the federal government has not improved the economic positior the poor relative to the highest-income families during the 197(

The redistribution of income, which now constitutes government's foremost activity and expense, has also spawned an army of people who do *not* play role in the wealth-creating proce but who nevertheless are award

ubsistence as a share of the roceeds.

is ironic that labour union's ersistent goal of full employment, nd government's consequent cceptance of that goal, is the rime cause of the excessive overnment intervention which is trangling the economy.

his is not to say that full employ-ent is not desirable, nor that it is nattainable, merely that it cannot e attained, in a liberal democracy, y coercion. The arbitrary regimes hat now oppress some 80 per ent of the world's peoples have ull employment of a sort, but ome of it takes place in labour amps rather than labour unions nd none of it enjoys the freedoms f speech, of movement or of ssembly that Canadians take for ranted.

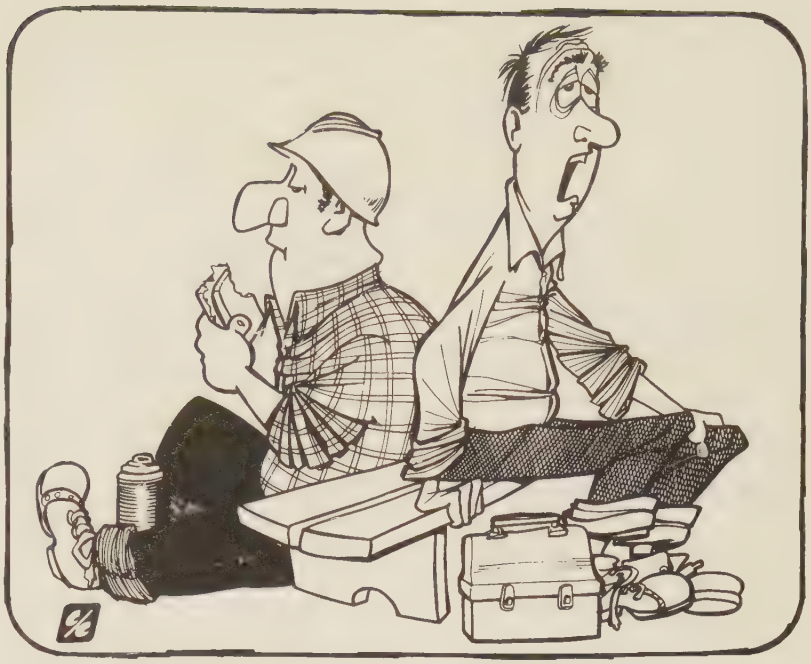
o return, then, to the original uestion, it is the resort of unions o coercive power that is wrong ith them. No doubt the change of nood in Britain will spread to anada. No doubt the growing pposition to unionism in the nited States will seep across the oarder.

What, in the meantime, can Cana-ians do on their own?

Among practical measures to estore a balance between the arties might be included the ollowing:

- Union negotiating committees to e empowered by the membership, n advance of the negotiation, to omplete it.

- If agreement is not reached, the mployer's final offer to be com-unicated *by mail* to every mployee, *before* a strike vote is aken, such vote to be conducted y secret ballot.



"Just once I'd like a contract without being blamed for inflation, warts, Mid-East crises, mass layoffs, sink backup, gumpie suicides, mange, seagull lice, dandelion infestation..."

- Membership of negotiating committees to be unchanged for the duration of the contract they negotiate, except for death, resignation from employment or dismissal, and not more than one-third of committee members to be changed at each renewal of negotiations.

Measures such as these would help to restore the balance that is needed to make bargaining both real and effective. Though they need no legislation, and though they are entirely within the power of individual unions to introduce, the union record of self-monitoring does not inspire optimism. Some 35 years since the introduction to Canada of compulsory bargaining, unions have yet to develop standards of conduct for their officers or members and have yet to develop codes of ethics. Consequently, reforms to restore a balance may still need legislation to bring them about.

Quite separate, however, and in the domain of all three parties, unions, employers and provincial governments, is a procedure which could remove the subjective fallacies, the "us and them" fixation, which are so destructive.

It is simply this: to put all the cards on the table. Let the employer display where the money goes. So much for wages, salaries, pensions and fringe benefits, so much for research, for marketing, for taxes, for material and processing, for debt repayment, for profit reinvested, for profit retained for future investment, for profit distributed as dividends to shareholders.

At the same time let the union display where its money goes. So

much for salaries and pensions, so much for offices and administration, for education, for strike funds, for publicity and for organizing new locals.

Let the two breakdowns be authenticated by an impartial agency of the provincial government. Then let the same agency set the union's demands against the employer's projections of sales and profit that might be attained from the base of wage and fringe costs in the existing contract.

Adoption of this procedure would bring two results. First, it would open to public inspection the same breakdown of union finances which the law now properly requires of private employers. And second, it would reveal to union members the nature and extent of the costs the employer must bear in pursuit of the business which gives them employment. As a corollary, it would create an awareness that keeping *all* costs down, and not merely the cost of wages and salaries, is the employer's constant preoccupation. It would reveal the burden, and the cost, of taxes to support government services often regarded as "free."

Is it not likely that, given the opportunity to compare the two breakdowns, and to realize that the enterprise's survival depends upon keeping costs down, union members would look for ways to contribute? Is it not likely that, given the opportunity to understand the costs of doing business, union members would also understand that the idea of automatic annual raises, unless they are earned by a lowering of other costs, must lead, in the general case of the national economy, to inflation and, in the particular case of their own enterprise, to a declining ability to compete?

...unions have yet to develop standards of conduct for their officers or members, and have yet to develop codes of ethics

There would still be room for bargaining. Human nature would ensure that employer and union held something back. But both would be arguing upon the factu basis of real costs, real taxes, re profit — or real loss.

The "us and them" fallacy that attempts to isolate union membe from the realities of the workpla to which they contribute their talents and energies would be exposed. In its stead would com a realization that there is no free lunch, that Canada as a trading nation depends not upon governments, or upon the power that governments confer, but upon th ingenuity, skill and enterprise of its citizens.

Union leaders have a clear duty play their part in bringing that realization home to the membership. lg

Kenneth McDonald is a Toronto writer. H current book is GREEN MAPLE — How Canada Could Attain Peace, Order and G Government.

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Industrial democracy in a multicultural milieu

by G.W. Ford

Writers on worker participation and self-management, with a few notable exceptions, have tended to assume the presence of a monocultural work force. Yet the industrial work forces in the technologically advanced western world are increasingly multicultural, or heterogeneous, not only in terms of ethnic origin but also in terms of age, sex, religion, education, occupation, industry, technology and hours of work. The aim of this article is to raise some questions on some of the complex issues that need to be studied if we are to understand the relationships between multiculturalism and industrial democracy.

To keep the article within manageable proportions, it will be limited to the relationship between industrial democracy and a few categories of employees, namely immigrant workers, married women, those working "non-standard" hours, and the unemployed.

While the discussion will draw primarily on Australian research and experience, the issues raised are relevant to other advanced industrial countries, including Canada.

Immigrant workers are perhaps the most neglected people in terms of the development of the theory and practice of industrial democracy. They have been treated as industrial cannon fodder by employers, governments and even by many unions in "host" countries. The traditional methods developed to protect industrial workers against accidents, disease and exploitation are normally inadequate, inappropriate or just not applied to migrant workers. Ideas, policies and proposals for industrial democracy developed by academics, governments, business and unions tend to ignore migrant workers, or to assume that they will become absorbed or assimilated. At best, migrants are given token formal recognition without provision being made for the special difficulties they face in being involved in any form of industrial democracy.

The industrial work forces in the technologically advanced western world are increasingly multicultural or heterogeneous

An important reason for the neglect of the position of migrant workers in industrial democracy is the paucity of studies of the migrant workers *at work*. Studies of these workers have tended to concentrate either on economic issues — such as benefit-cost analysis of migrant workers to host and home countries, the transfer and investment of migrant savings and the impact of migration on labour markets — or on social issues such as housing conditions, community relations, family welfare and the education of migrant children. Relatively few social scientists have spent time with migrant workers in the one place that is fundamental to understanding their economic, social and political reality, namely their place of work.

The question of language obviously needs to be considered in any discussion of immigrants and industrial democracy.

These workers need to develop appropriate verbal skills in the language of the host countries in order to be able to participate fully in industrial democracy. Reliance on interpreters may do more to increase the power and influence of interpreters than of migrants. Yet Sweden is the only host country, it appears, in which the law requires an employer to provide newly-arrived migrants with opportunities to learn the local language in their first year, (240 hours). Even now, however, there seems to be some question as to how many employers are fulfilling this requirement. Elsewhere, employer language training for migrants tends to be inadequate and narrowly related to technical task requirements, not to developing fluency appropriate for the levels of understanding of issues involved in industrial democracy. Moreover, in the absence of significant contact with people outside their own cultural and linguistic groups, many adult migrant workers in fact have little incentive to learn the language of the host country.

However, mere fluency in the local language is not enough to enable people to participate in discussions requiring an ability to understand and evaluate ideas, concepts and processes, particularly when these cannot be related to the person's education or experience.

For instance, workers who have migrated to Australia from Britain cannot be expected to understand the complex nature and processes of the long established Australian industrial relations institution of compulsory arbitration. Yet at strike meetings they are often asked to evaluate and make immediate decisions on propositions that assume some knowledge of this system. A further problem is that many migrants, especially

Immigrant workers are perhaps the most neglected people in terms of the development of the theory and practice of industrial democracy

those from authoritarian cultures, are unaware of just what their basic democratic and industrial rights are. They may not realize, for example, that they have the right to vote in union elections without first becoming a citizen of their country of employment. Some immigrant workers in Australia were confused about the difference between credit unions and trade unions. Indeed, in a layoff at one plant, some expected to have their trade union dues refunded to them with interest!

In a multi-ethnic work force such as that of Australia and Canada, certain individuals may gain power and influence because of their role as link persons between management and particular ethnic work groups. For example, the pay clerk is seen by many migrants as powerful because he hands out money and therefore must be respected. Some companies employ multilingual people in this position and use them also as interpreters and interviewers, thus increasing their power to influence both management and ethnic workers. Such link persons could control many votes under a system of industrial democracy.

"This pair has a good resale value which will help with your hospital expenses."

Another important group that tends to be neglected by both policy formulators and writers on industrial democracy is married women. Yet married women have dramatically increased their participation rate in the work force in recent years. In many countries, the participation rate of migrant married women is higher than the average.

...academics, governments, business and unions tend to ignore migrant workers or assume that they will become absorbed or assimilated

The participation of married women in industrial democracy is severely restricted both by their socialization and by the fact that they frequently carry the burden of two full-time jobs — those of employee, and housewife/mothe Any attempts to improve their position in the processes of indu trial democracy must acknowled the considerable diversity in the socialization, cultures and house hold roles of married women in multi-ethnic and multicultural wo force.

Research undertaken in Australi suggests that the overwhelming majority of migrant women in th country have little or no under- standing of industrial processes and the wider economic, social and legal systems of industrial communities. They often do the dirtiest and most menial tasks; they fear even the loss of these jobs. Their sense of isolation an powerlessness was dramatically emphasized in the study by F.E. Emery and C. Phillips of the

quality of working life in Australia, published by the Australian Government Publishing Service under the title, *Living at Work*: "The figure of 66 per cent of migrant women from southern Europe or non-European countries reporting 'no opportunities for life' is quite a shock, particularly if one bears in mind that these women were the ones who felt confident enough with the English language to be interviewed."

Concepts of industrial democracy normally assume that people understand and agree with the processes of democracy and are free and willing to express

Migrant workers need to develop appropriate skills in the language of the host countries in order to be able to participate fully in industrial democracy

opinions and assume some responsibility for decision making. However, such assumptions run counter to the values and customs of many migrant households. Turkish women for example, who are culturally conditioned not to speak up and certainly not to converse with males other than their husbands, would face enormous problems of role conflict if they were asked to participate in industrial democracy.

The literature on industrial democracy also tends to assume full-time employees working a standard work week, but in advanced technological societies, an increasing proportion of work is done in non-standard hours — shift work, evening and night work, part-time work, casual work, contract work, and the like. A study in France, for example, reported in the April, 1976 issue of *European Industrial Relations Review*, found that in 1954, 12 per cent of the country's manual work force was engaged in shift work; by 1974 the percentage had risen to 21 per cent, or about two million workers. The report went on to argue that "shift workers should be encouraged to participate more fully in the running of the undertaking so as to reduce any feeling that they are isolated and different from those engaged in normal day work. The measures proposed include greater participation in union activities, greater access to vocational training and refresher courses and — through liaison with works councils and similar bodies — increased involvement in the organization and arrangement of shifts."

Discussion with workers in Australia has indicated that day workers and shift workers see themselves as having different access to power and influence and that this, in turn, affects their ideas and attitudes toward industrial democracy. This is particularly the case in high-technology process industries where the operators' knowledge of processes gives them significant power over production. Moreover, part-time employees have usually not been offered the same opportunities or protection as full-time employees. For instance, in drawing up lists of demands, union officials have apparently tended to favour full-time workers. This has particularly been the case when full-time and part-time workers are seen to be in competition over the distribution of the package. Will industrial democracy place this minority group at an even greater disadvantage? What policies, procedures and processes need to be developed to give this increasingly large proportion of employees, who may even be a majority in some organizations, a more equitable opportunity to participate?

Further, changes in the labour market of many industrialized

Immigrant workers from authoritarian countries are unaware of their basic democratic and industrial rights

countries actually appear to be increasing the number of casual and contract workers in some industries. One reason is the growth of subcontracting, used as a means of avoiding labour legislation. In the building industry, for instance, technical and organizational changes have led to the development of a considerable amount of subcontracting, particularly on large projects. Could such practices also be used to avoid industrial democracy? What forms of industrial democracy are appropriate on large projects involving many subcontractors?

The development of new philosophies of maintenance and repair of plant and equipment is also changing the employment position of many skilled workers from permanent to casuals, from being employed by large production organizations to small maintenance organizations. There now are a number of private employment agencies for example, specializing in recruiting casual skilled maintenance workers to work on plant shut-downs. Yet precious little is known about the work patterns or culture of this new group of casual workers, or about their ideas and interests relating to industrial democracy.

An important feature of the current world economic slowdown is that powerful and privileged groups openly assert their right to maintain their standard of living. These include secure public servants and academics and people in highly protected businesses and industries. The costs of the economic slowdown and consequent structural adjustments in the economy

are therefore inequitably distributed, the burden falling largely on the increasing number of unemployed.

Will industrial democracy further disadvantage the unemployed by excluding them from access to important decisions, particularly those relating to employment? Will industrial democracy further help the people who are now employed to protect themselves through job security arrangements or tenured appointments, to the detriment of those looking for work? This question is particularly important to the increasing number of young people who cannot find employment.

The role of religion and religious-based organizations has long been recognized as an important

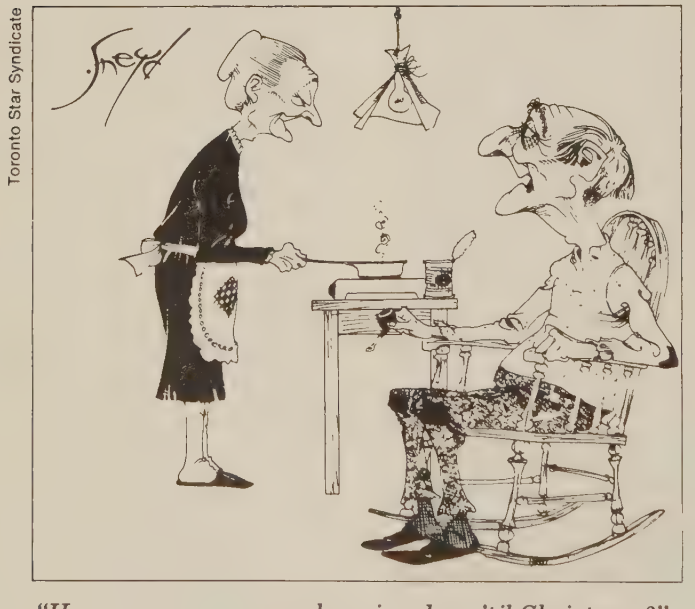
Religious-based organizations may provide barriers to industrial democracy in countries where there is no official or overt religious trade union movement

variable in the development of industrial democracy in countries where Christian unions are active. However, what has not been widely understood or studied is the fact that religious-based organizations may provide significant barriers to the development of industrial democracy in countries where there is no official or overt religious trade union movement.

In Australia, for example, the conflict between Roman Catholicism and Free Masonry is still important in the distribution of power in some areas of employment, particularly in state public service departments. The tight labour market of the 1950s and 1960s significantly reduced religious preference in employment and promotion. However, some public service departments are sti controlled by the Masons or the Knights of the Southern Cross — Roman Catholic organization founded in the 1920s — while in some other departments both these groups are continually strug gling over promotions, power and influence. This is also the case in some trade unions. However, the extent of the problem remains unknown.

Students of industrial democracy have tended to ignore many of these important issues. Yet their existence may be an effective barrier to the development of genuine industrial democracy. If industrial democracy is to become a reality for all workers, rather tha a mere slogan or an additional benefit for an already relatively privileged few, then they must all be effectively dealt with.

Well-established power groups, formal and informal, rarely relinquish their power without a struggle. On the other hand, attempts t establish some form of industrial democracy may bring such previously hidden power centres into the open where their power could be challenged more effectively. IG



Toronto Star Syndicate

"How many more non-shopping days 'til Christmas?"

G.W. Ford is associate professor of behavioural science at the University of Ne South Wales in Sydney, Australia.

Immigrants in the Canadian workforce: occupational comparisons for three provinces

by William L. Marr

Immigration policy has traditionally been based on a combination of humanitarian and economic factors. In times of high growth and general labour demand Canada has had a relatively open immigration policy. In the 1950s and 1960s there was a shortage in particular areas such as professional and skilled secondary employment and these occupations were favoured when immigration policies were formulated. The 1970s have been characterized by economic stagnation, high unemployment, and a surplus of certain skills. Immigration policy therefore must be more selective if present economic conditions persist.

Federal immigration policies are based on total labour demand and are valid only if it is assumed that immigrants will fill the desired vacancies. This assumption has been challenged, however, by the provinces, several of which claim that differences between immigrant and native-born employment patterns exist which make these assumptions invalid. In addition, differences between provinces exist that might further complicate the situation and that make provincial participation in immigration policy essential.

In order to examine these assumptions, the occupational structures of native- and foreign-born workers are compared by province. The foreign-born are also analyzed by year of immigration and geographical area of birth. Finally, the proportional representation of each foreign-born group is examined by occupation.

Since Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia contained about 81 per cent of Canada's foreign-born population in 1971, the analysis is confined to these provinces. Analysis of employment is by five broad occupational groupings:

- *Professional:* managerial-administrative, natural sciences, social sciences, religion, teaching, medicine and health, artistic-literary.
- *Clerical, Sales, Services*
- *Primary:* farming, fishing and hunting, forestry and logging, mining.
- *Secondary:* processing, machining, fabricating-assembling, construction, transport, materials handling, crafts and equipment.
- *Other and Not Stated*

Occupational patterns

When comparing total occupational distribution for native- and foreign-born, the similarities are many. Only in secondary occupations are there significant differences — foreign-born workers are more heavily represented than those born in Canada.

Comparing the three provinces, however, reveals some regional differences:

- Native-born employed are more heavily represented in primary industries in Ontario and Quebec while in British Columbia representation is about equal.
- In Quebec, and to a lesser extent in British Columbia, the foreign-born are more heavily represented in professional occupations.
- The greater representation of the foreign-born in secondary occupations mentioned above is especially marked in Ontario.

Comparing the employment of immigrants who came before 1946 with those who came in the 1960s indicates that immigrant employment in professional and secondary occupations is rising and employment in clerical-sales-service and primary occupations is falling. This trend affects all three provinces equally and is due to:

- The evolution of the Canadian economy toward higher incomes, greater education, and an urban environment;
- Changes in immigration legislation and orders-in-council placing greater stress on education and skills suitable to urban occupations;

• The time immigrants spend in Canada which allows them to age, become more mobile, and be assimilated.

Employment by birthplace

Since future immigration legislation may involve limits by country or geographical area, employment by birthplace was examined and it was found that:

• United States and British immigrants tended to be found in professional and clerical/sales/service occupations;

• Asians were well represented in the professions (except in British Columbia) and in clerical/sales/service occupations;

• Although all continental Europeans were well represented in the secondary occupations, over 50 per cent of southern Europeans were employed in this category.

This analysis indicates that any reduction in immigration from southern Europe would affect labour supply in secondary occupations whereas a cutback from other geographic areas would be felt more evenly and thus might have less significance over a wide spectrum of occupations.

Immigrants as a percentage of the work force

Table 1 shows that while the foreign-born make up only about 11 per cent of Quebec's labour force, their importance in Ontario

Table 1

Percentage distribution of labour force for each occupational group by birthplace, Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, 1971
(per cent)

	Birthplace								
Occupation/Province	Canada	U.S.	U.K.	Northern-Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Asia	Other	To
Professional:									
Quebec	85.9	1.4	2.6	3.6	1.2	2.0	1.2	2.1	1
Ontario	72.1	2.4	10.4	4.9	1.8	3.3	2.3	2.8	1
British Columbia	71.4	3.8	12.1	5.1	0.6	2.1	2.3	2.6	1
Clerical, Sales, Service:									
Quebec	88.9	0.8	1.6	2.1	3.0	1.6	0.6	1.4	1
Ontario	73.0	1.3	9.1	4.5	5.7	3.3	1.3	1.8	1
British Columbia	75.4	2.2	9.6	5.1	1.9	1.8	2.6	1.4	1
Primary:									
Quebec	96.6	0.5	0.3	0.8	1.3	0.4	—	0.1	1
Ontario	79.4	1.0	2.5	8.3	3.7	4.4	0.3	0.4	1
British Columbia	73.7	3.7	4.6	9.1	2.8	3.3	2.6	0.2	1
Secondary:									
Quebec	87.5	0.5	0.7	1.8	6.6	1.7	0.4	0.8	1
Ontario	65.1	0.8	6.9	5.9	13.8	5.2	0.8	1.5	1
British Columbia	71.4	1.9	6.8	8.1	4.8	3.3	2.7	1.0	1
Other & Not Stated:									
Quebec	91.0	0.7	0.8	1.3	3.8	1.2	0.5	0.7	1
Ontario	76.6	1.1	5.0	3.7	7.9	3.4	1.1	1.2	1
British Columbia	79.6	2.4	5.7	4.6	2.1	2.2	1.9	1.5	1
All Occupations:									
Quebec	88.6	0.8	1.4	2.1	3.7	1.6	0.6	1.2	1
Ontario	71.2	1.3	7.9	5.1	7.5	3.9	1.3	1.7	1
British Columbia	73.9	2.4	8.5	6.2	2.6	2.4	2.5	1.5	1

Source: Census of Canada, 1971

Table 2

Birthplace	Over-represented	Under-represented
Canada	Clerical/Sales/Service Primary	Secondary
U.S.	Professional	Secondary
U.K.	Professional Clerical/Sales/Service	Primary Secondary
Southern Europe	Secondary	Professional Clerical/Sales/Service
Eastern Europe	Secondary	
Asia	Professional Clerical/Sales/Service	

and British Columbia is significantly greater at approximately 29 and 26 per cent respectively. Hence in total the foreign-born matter much less to Quebec's labour force than to those of Ontario and British Columbia. Although similar in certain respects, Ontario and British Columbia possess important differences. In British Columbia the proportion of foreign-born workers is similar in each occupational group: the foreign-born have not contributed disproportionately to one occupation. In contrast, in Ontario the foreign-born made up about 35 per cent of the secondary occupational group and about 20 per cent of the primary group. Table 1 shows that in each province the foreign-born are relatively more important to the secondary and professional occupations than to the primary and clerical/sales/service groups. This is not surprising since all three provinces have been influenced by the same federal immigration policy.

It is worth noting the cases where the foreign-born from a specific geographical area made a substantial contribution to a province's labour force in some occupational group: professional and clerical/sales/service occupations — U.K. to Ontario and B.C. (9-12 per cent); primary occupations — northern and western Europe to Ontario and B.C. (8-9 per cent); secondary occupations — southern Europe to Ontario (14 per cent). Other birthplace groups supply from 3 to 8 per cent in some occupations, but this is less significant than those noted above.

Proportional representation of the foreign-born

The data in Table 1 can be used to determine whether particular foreign-born groups are over- or under-represented in certain occupational classes. The evidence can be summarized in Table 2

These are general results which apply to all three provinces, but for individual provinces there are variations. For example, northern and western Europe are over-represented in primary and secondary occupations in Ontario and British Columbia while they are over-represented in professional occupations in Quebec.

Conclusions

In terms of the broad categories examined above, the native- and foreign-born occupational structures were similar in the three provinces. The foreign-born did, however, make major contributions in some specific occupations, although in Quebec they contributed relatively little to total labour supply.

Federal immigration authorities should be aware of the impact of immigration reductions which may affect specific occupational groups with provincial concentrations. Immigration policies would be more sensitive to regional differences if the provincial governments, planners, professional associations, and labour unions would monitor and, if possible, help formulate future immigration regulations. lg

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A non-traditional approach to labour education

by Lily Oddie

During the past 25 years, the Canadian institutions of post-secondary education — and particularly degree-granting university bodies — have made considerable progress in accrediting adult learners in diverse disciplines and professions ranging from business administration to community studies. One major segment of our citizenry, however, has not yet received equal opportunity for access to knowledge. The group in question is organized labour, made up of workers from all parts of the country. Not surprisingly, therefore, trade unions and individual workers are now demanding programs and courses aimed at their unique needs.

The question of how post-secondary institutions, and universities in particular, can respond to this need is a challenging one that calls for a non-traditional approach to learning.

This article explores selected ways and means by which a non-traditional university (or a future-oriented traditional university) can contribute meaningfully to the quality of life in the workplace through multipartite participation in the planning and implementation of flexible labour programs. The proposals are based on past and continuing experience of Athabaska University at Edmonton with representative labour bodies, including the Canadian Labour Congress, the Alberta Federation of Labour, district labour councils and individual workers. Representatives of government and other post-secondary institutions also have been and continue to be involved at appropriate stages.

Athabaska University is an off-campus, degree-granting open university whose mandate is to produce and deliver "needs responsive" learning experiences for adult residents of Alberta who

Organized labour has not received equal opportunity for access to knowledge

are unwilling or unable to attend a traditional post-secondary institution. Hence the university has tried to minimize the problems caused by constraints of time, distance and lack of prior formal education, and is service-oriented as well as program-oriented.

The typical services the university provides may be categorized under the umbrella heading "credit co-ordination." Students are counselled in articulating their educational needs, in relating previous experience and training to course requirements and course credits, and in planning their programs and courses. These services are suited to the needs of part-time learners and are quite different from the services received in a traditional university

The university represents, therefore, what may be termed an "open system operationalization of instructional development and technology" at the adult level — similar to that used at the Open University in Great Britain, the Empire State University and the State University of New York, and the State University of Israel, among others. It also embraces a philosophy emphasizing the *lifelong* pursuit of learning, also referred to as recurrent educatio

Non-traditional institutions of learning must apply three necessary mechanisms to labour educa tion (Figure 1):

- an instructional systems approach to learning;
- provision for multipartite involv ment and responsibility in progra design, development and delivery (including evaluation);
- a comprehensive credit co-ordination function.

Figure 1

FRAMEWORK FOR A NON-TRADITIONAL APPROACH TO LABOUR EDUCATION

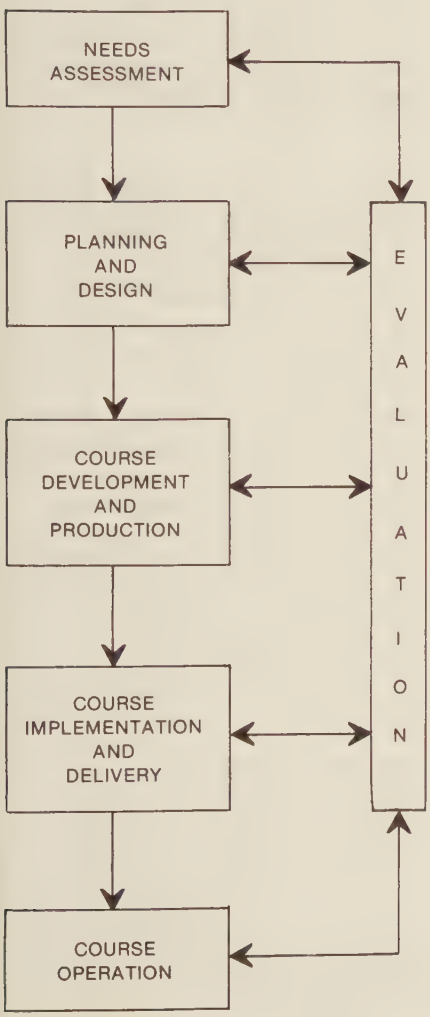
Basic Assumptions	(1) Philosophy of recurrent/lifelong learning
	(2) Unique characterist and needs of the part-time adult lear
Ways and means to respond	(1) An instructional systems approach to learning
	(2) Multipartite involvement in program design, development & delivery, and evaluation
	(3) Credit co-ordinatio service function

The open instructional system used at Athabaska (illustrated in Figure 2) is ideally suited to the needs of various groups in the community. Its functioning is centred on the learner and his needs and the system assumes active participation by the student or target group. Now for a brief look at the components of the system:

(1) *needs assessment* — used rather loosely to refer to the process of information collection that leads to the original decision to start planning a particular program, concentration or course;

Figure 2

ATHABASCA UNIVERSITY: INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEMS MODEL



Meeting the needs of trade unions and individual workers calls for a non-traditional approach to learning by post-secondary institutions

(2) *planning and design* — the assignment of a team — made up of subject matter experts, instructional developers, representatives of target groups, and student service personnel — to initiate the course planning and design;

(3) *course development and production* — draws on instructional designers, media experts and academics; its "outputs" include instructional and support materials such as record books, objectives, self-evaluation and others;

(4) *course implementation and delivery* — focuses on the student and includes providing tutors, distributing material, having classrooms and libraries available, establishing channels of communication, recruiting students and introducing them to the course or program;

(5) *course operation* — focuses on facilitating learning and monitoring the progress of students, and is typically carried out by tutors and course co-ordinators;

(6) *evaluation* — this component is present in all the other stages. Among the factors that must be evaluated continually are how well the students are learning, how effectively real needs of the community are being met, which needs should get priority, the social impact of the system, its quality and cost effectiveness, and how it meets the long-term goals of the educational institution.

Now let us consider the second essential mechanism — multipartite involvement of the user in the instructional system. At Athabaska University this began with the first of the six components of the system — *needs assessment*.

During the past two years, the university has entered into negotiations with several labour organizations for the express purpose of identifying a base for developing labour education programs. In addition to preliminary discussions, it presented a comprehensive proposal entitled *Design for Participation — Labour Education* to education committees of Labour Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Alberta Federation of Labour and local unions. The university also initiated comprehensive talks with the provincial Department of Advanced Education and Manpower and with interested post-secondary institutions.

These groups received the overall labour studies design with interest, and discussed with the university the issues of control, input and evaluation. It was agreed that any design for labour education must be both comprehensive and long-term in nature, and negotiations are proceeding on that basis. However, short-term, pragmatic issues in labour education will also continue to be addressed by both the university and the trade union movement. For example, an individual worker can avail himself of any of the course offerings at the university; the labour movement will continue to provide and control its own worker education programs, including tool courses and instruction in leadership skills.

The university has obtained approval from labour to perform the first step of an open instructional system — formal needs assessment. It has received a $12,500 grant from Labour Canada which, along with its own resources will be used to detail

Perception problems

Organized labour and post-secondary educational institutions have "perception problems about [each] other's role in labour education," according to an article in the Summer issue of *Learning*, quarterly publication of the Canadian Association for Adult Education. It was written by Ian Morrison, executive director of the association, and Larry Wagg, director of education for the Canadian Labour Congress. The two, as members of the association's labour education committee, participated in consultation meetings with 120 adult educators in Winnipeg, Toronto, Halifax and Vancouver.

"We are confirmed in our impression that Canadian universities do not regard non-credit education as being worthy of serious attention," the authors observe. "They merely assume that when labour asks for resources to create learning opportunities for its members and leadership, the request is for credit courses.

"A few universities have moved past this level — notably the University of Winnipeg, Dalhousie University's Institute of Public Affairs and Simon Fraser University."

Morrison and Wagg found community colleges "more readily compatible" with the present goals of organized labour in education, noting: "They appear to be more flexible and responsive where they have shown interest, than are universities." They admit, however, that their impression "ignores the statement by leaders of Saskatchewan's colleges that they have seen no interest from labour in their offerings which are known to be the most responsive in Canada."

The article says it is clear that the days of "ad hoc" activity have ended in many labour organizations: "Labour is working to develop a set of comprehensive policies and practices to encourage opportunities for its members, staff and leaders to learn." They add that labour insists that it is best equipped itself to offer the so-called "tool" courses such as parliamentary procedure, shop stewards' training and union administration.

Many unions, they write, among them the Canadian Union of Public Employees, are looking seriously at the learning needs of their personnel "and beginning to shop for capable institutions" that can respond.

Wagg and Morrison find "strong disagreement" about the relevance of a degree program in labour education. Harry Waisglass, who directs McMaster University's labour studies centre, is quoted as saying: "Ten years from now we will be nowhere if we do not implement degree programs." Others consulted, however, see degrees as "last among their priorities."

The article praises the "spontaneous co-operation and goodwill" evident in meetings between organized labour and universities in Alberta.

Roy LaBerge

the number of workers interested in a labour education program, where they live and work, and the conditions under which they would most likely follow the program; the types of courses required for a comprehensive program; the instructional methods and techniques that would be acceptable to prospective participants; and the educational background and personal growth and career aspirations of prospective participants. The university will also compile a directory of existing courses and other educational opportunities that now exist for labour education. This process of needs assessment also provides a mean of informing workers about the program.

Needs assessment information forms the basis for the other five steps in the system, and the user — labour movement or individual worker — should be involved, cor mitted and jointly responsible for these other steps as well. In plan ning and design, users could typi cally be involved, for example, as representatives on an advisory committee responsible for curriculum planning at the program or concentration stage, including statements of educational objectives, or course content. They could also be involved in a listing of courses offered by labour whic could be "input" into a formal university course; there could als be labour involvement as guest speakers, instructors or tutors an through the use of labour facilities. Similarly they could participate in and be jointly responsib for the other stages of course development and production, course implementation and delivery, and course operation an evaluation.

The user — labour movement or individual worker — should be involved, committed and jointly responsible for all the steps in designing and operating a labour studies program

Finally, let us turn to the third necessary component of labour education : a viable credit coordination process. This service function recognizes the unique problems of the part-time learner who has chosen to remain within the labour force as a contributing member of society. That is, he

wishes to remain on the job but also sees the opportunities and needs that can be met through further education. To meet these needs, credit co-ordination should process three key values: accessibility, flexibility and utility.

The credit co-ordination model used by Athabaska University includes 13 essential policy features. Implementing all of these comprehensively is, of course, a long-term goal. However, it is important that all be present at every stage of development; that is, they are all necessary ingredients. Figure 3 illustrates the 13 features.

The basic assumption of the model is support and recognition of the philosophy of recurrent learning/lifelong education and the unique needs of the part-time learner. Briefly, the 13 essential ingredients are:

(1) *open admission*, implying open admission not just to Athabaska University but to the system of post-secondary education (transferability of courses and entrance of students);

Figure 3

CREDIT CO-ORDINATION PROCESS

1. Open admission
2. Remedial/preparatory studies
3. Career planning
4. Educational planning
5. Formal credit evaluation
6. Informal education
   — competencies
   — experience
7. Flexibility
8. Individualized
9. Transferability
10. Professional articulation
11. Inter-University (Post-Secondary Institution) co-operation
12. Formalized alternatives
13. Optimal learning route

Adult education should be seen as a recurrent, lifelong pattern that is the right, the privilege and the responsibility of all

(2) *remedial/preparatory* studies to make open admission a reality;

(3) *career planning* and information assistance to identify the student's career goals;

(4) *educational planning* and information assistance to identify the student's preferred program of studies;

(5) *flexible evaluation* of formal credit obtained elsewhere;

(6) *credits for competence* achieved through informal means;

(7) *flexible qualifications* which can accommodate unusual routes through the system, independent of normal residency eligibility;

(8) *individualized programs* to meet career goals;

(9) a highly *adaptable and transferable* admission and selection program;

(10) *professional programs* designed to articulate with the maximum number of other programs;

(11) use of Athabaska's university status to achieve *access to the resources of other universities* — such as visiting student privileges;

(12) preparedness to *recommend the best learning route*, not just the Athabaska University route;

(13) *articulation* arrangements which formalize alternative routes through the system.

We may conclude by listing some of the key problems involved in recognition of labour education. I am not going to suggest answers, but I am convinced that the solutions exist if universities relate to the student and the larger society and if the student or group works co-operatively and earnestly to further the ideals and needs of his group in such a challenging society. Total commitment is needed by all if the goal of relevant, meaningful labour education is to be achieved. These critical issues or problem areas are:

- public awareness and acceptance of labour education;
- commitment of labour/business, government/academia to recognize labour education within and between social sub-systems;
- recognition of the need for continual research and application in dealing with the complex issues of "competency", evaluation and instruction;
- integration of changing societal values in current learning and instruction policies;
- continued emphasis on adult education as a recurrent lifelong pattern that is the right, the privilege and the responsibility of all.

The challenge to universities to recognize the need to provide labour education can be greatly facilitated by a threefold plan of action: incorporation of a dynamic instructional system, emphasis on multipartite involvement, and implementation of a credit co-ordination function. lg

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The inspectorate: Part 2* — Change and development

by Joan C. Brown

A study of the annual reports of the regulatory departments and boards from 1970 onwards casts some useful light on the extent to which change and development in the inspectorate were occurring even before the revelations of the various commissions of inquiry into occupational health and safety in 1976-77. Annual reports never tell the full story of course, but where new and more effective programs are being developed, the department concerned usually wants to tell the public about them. Conversely, where little change is occurring and perhaps a degree of complacency exists, departments tend to produce brief and repetitious annual reports.

The overall picture of the inspectorate which has emerged from the reports of commissions of inquiry and other studies is fairly dismal. This was recorded in Part 1* of this article. The annual reports, however, suggest that some segments of the inspectorate were on the move.

The Labour Canada inspectorate came out rather badly in the report of the Commission of Inquiry on Health and Safety in Grain Elevators (the Finn Report), but Finn did comment that the department had taken "many positive, even innovative measures" to protect the health and safety of the workers.

*Part 1 was published in the October 1978 number of *The Labour Gazette*.

One of the most useful was the development of *safety audits*, first undertaken by the department in 1971.

W.A. Martin, then Chief of the Accident Prevention Division, writing in *The Labour Gazette* in August 1971, suggested that in a routine regulatory inspection the violations cited would be the obvious ones and the directives given would probably not go beyond the immediate problem.

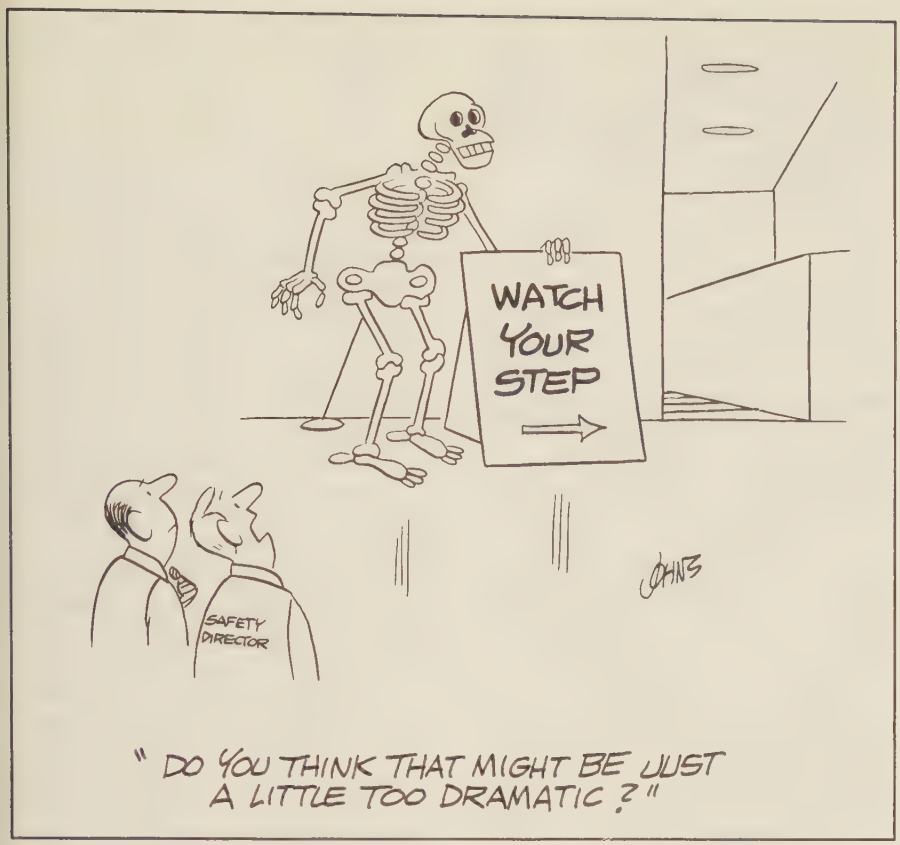
Probably the most significant innovation pioneered by Saskatchewan was a much more substantial and effective sharing of the task of inspection and regulation between the inspectorate, the workers and the employers

While routine inspections were appropriate for matters such as boilers, pressure vessels, elevators and the like, in more complex situations they were merely band aids. The 1971 annual report of the department pointed out that such routine inspections, especially in large organizations, were unlikely to provide sufficient information to permit an accurate diagnosis of the underlying causes of accidents. In the safety audit on the other hand:

...the entire accident prevention program of a company, including its safety policy, the safety attitudes of management and employees, the safety organization, responsibility and accountability for safety, education and training, self inspection, accident investigation and reporting, and statistics, is subject to a critical review.

Quite apart from the effectiveness of the safety audit technique in upgrading accident prevention programs, the department's use of audits together with safety and technical surveys and hazard evaluations, led Labour Canada to question some of the conventional wisdom upon which the inspectorate had based its work. Part of this was the assumption that management could be relied upon to give adequate priority to both health and safety, and that most accidents were due to employee carelessness. The programs revealed that management failure was at the root of many accidents and in addition the inspectors found that the occupational health situation was far worse than had been generally realized.

The Quebec Ministère du Travail de la Main-d'oeuvre was also questioning the wisdom of over-reliance on the routine inspection. From 1973 onwards two new programs were introduced. The first was a team of (about 10) inspectors who concentrated for a period of perhaps two months on one industrial sector with the object of achieving greater uniformity in the



application of health and safety laws between similar companies. The second was the designation of a group of inspectors who would specialize in investigating serious accidents.

Among the results of these operations (according to the annual reports) was a rejection by the inspectorate of the worker-carelessness theory as the major cause of accidents. On the contrary, management failure was found to be a significant cause, as well as failure to give training to workers or to inform them of the dangers of their trade. This in turn led to a more critical examination of company safety programs and a greater emphasis on the need to inform workers of hazards at work and to involve them in planning to eliminate them. The Department set out to develop better relations with the unions, encouraged worker representatives to participate in the inspection process, and indicated its willingness to supply union locals with copies of inspection reports on written request.

Changes were also occurring in British Columbia. At the Workers' Compensation Board (which had the prime regulatory responsibility in B.C.), health and safety was named the top priority in the Board's activities. In 1974, the right of both employer and worker representatives to accompany inspectors during on-site inspections was established, maximum penalties for infringing safety regulations were increased twenty-fold, and employers were required to pay their employees for the day a closure order was imposed and the next three working days it remained in effect.

T.G. Ison (formerly chairman of the W.C.B.) also reported in a paper given to the Learned Societies Conference in 1976 that changes were made in the application of discretion. Prior to 1974, when an accident prevention officer discovered serious violations of the regulations, he was required to explain and justify any recommendation that a sanction be involved. He was not required to explain or justify the absence of such a recommendation. This was changed in 1974 in order to place the protection of the worker on an equal basis with the interests of the employer.

Although the British Columbia Department of Labour was not the principal provincial regulatory authority for health and safety, it nevertheless had some safety functions, and thus the program this department undertook is appropriately included here. Its main drive from 1973 onwards was to fill what the 1973 annual report called the "enforcement vacuum" by covering the many plants which had never been subject to inspection. This resolve was perhaps strengthened by a systematic inspection (in 1973) of sawmills, wood mills and plywood plants which found "in most cases the total absence of any form of heating, exceptionally poor lighting, the absence of lunch rooms or, where provided, far below standard, and in the case of workers' washrooms many were deplorable..."

To fill this vacuum the numbers of inspectors were increased, regional offices were established, comprehensive inspection cycles were planned, and efforts were made to involve labour as well as management in the regulation of the occupational environment.

These and other improvements in inspection activities (such as the reorganization and the tougher approach of the New Brunswick labour department from 1974

onwards) were all encouraging signs that segments of the inspectorate were endeavoring to come to grips with occupational health and safety problems in Canada. Their efforts were directed toward getting the best out of the self-regulation and inspection system as it then operated. By challenging at least some of the conventional wisdom about health and safety they cleared the way for change. However, many aspects of the system were left intact, the divided and overlapping jurisdictions, the weak legislation, the poor enforcement capability of the inspectorate, and the substantial exclusion of the workers from the process of regulation. For these reasons, the root and branch reforms undertaken in Saskatchewan in 1972 are of key importance.

Saskatchewan dealt with the problem of divided and overlapping jurisdiction which plagued all the provinces by bringing all the regulatory authorities together in a single occupational health and safety division within the Department of Labour. At the same time new legislation (the Occupational Health Act, 1972) paved the way for a rationalization and strengthening of the existing laws and regulations, a process which has occupied several years.

The integration of staff from various departments and boards with different ways of working and differing expertise was not expected to be an easy process, but in-house problems were found to be easier to resolve than inter-departmental difficulties. Moreover, Robert Sass, director of the division (speaking to a Canada Safety Council Conference in 1976), suggested that such an arrangement "minimizes the opportunities for inter-agency buck passing," one of the elements of the system which had weakened enforcement in all provinces.

All the commissions of inquiry recommended that more rigorous enforcement measures be taken against neglectful employers

There does not appear to have been a very large increase in the size of the inspectorate in Saskatchewan. Instead, attention was given to more effective deployment. It was suggested in Part 1 that where a wide variety of knowledge was required in dealing with a particular company or industry group, the inspectors were frequently at a disadvantage. Within the Saskatchewan arrangements, each inspector had available for in-house consultation, a variety of other skilled and experienced staff. Furthermore, the practice of group inspection that has been developed utilized the complementary skills required for any particular situation.

Again according to Robert Sass (this time speaking in 1975 to the Canadian Association of Administrators of Labour Legislation — CAALL), joint inspections, for example, by the mining and electrical inspectors, the fire inspector and the occupational health officer, the elevator inspector and the occupational health officer and other and sometimes larger combinations were a regular event. He suggested that "where a group of inspectors visit the same workplace together, there is a definite increase in coverage as all inspectors have different experiences and place different degrees of emphasis on any particular problem." He also took the view that this sharing of staff knowledge more realistically corresponded to the manner in which problems emerged in the workplace, and in addition the closer association between the occupational hygienists and the occupational health officers (the re-named safety inspectors) improved the quality inspections for health hazards.

Another method used in Saskatchewan to bring combined skills to bear on a problem is the Policy Planning Group. These (according to Robert Sass) are "non-hierarchical groups in which people are brought together on the basis of the problem and not on the basis of their official position in the department. They examine particularly complex problems and are expected to come up with a report and clear recommendation for action.

Probably the most significant innovation pioneered by Saskatchewan was a much more substantial and effective sharing of the task of inspection and regulation between the inspectorate, the workers and the employers. Under the old system in Saskatchewan, as elsewhere, the employer was expected to "self regulate" occupational health and safety. Because of the number of worksites in relation to the size of the inspectorate, all the inspector could hope to do was to sample from time to time the effectiveness of this self-regulation. An industry recognized as hazardous or with a bad accident record would receive fairly frequent attention while other companies would be visited annually, or less often. Where deficiencies were observed and directives issued, the inspector would usually make follow-up visits to ensure his instructions had been complied with.

The role of the worker (and the unions) in this system was fairly marginal. He had no right to participate in the process of regulating the workplace or even to know what hazards existed. Arrangements might be made for worker representatives to accompany the inspector on his visits, and union or worker complaints

about health and safety would be examined. Joint labour management health and safety committees did exist in many companies, but neither the worker nor the union had a clearly established ongoing role as of right.

The Saskatchewan legislation of 1972 recognized the regulation of occupational health and safety as the tripartite responsibility of employers, workers and government. It provided for mandatory joint employer/employee occupational health committees in every workplace employing 10 or more workers, and gave the joint committees the duty to participate in the identification and control of workplace hazards to health and safety. Looked at from the point of view of the inspection system, the joint committees constitute an army of inspectors operating all year round but functioning as a company/worker self-regulation system rather than as a huge bureaucracy on the government payroll.

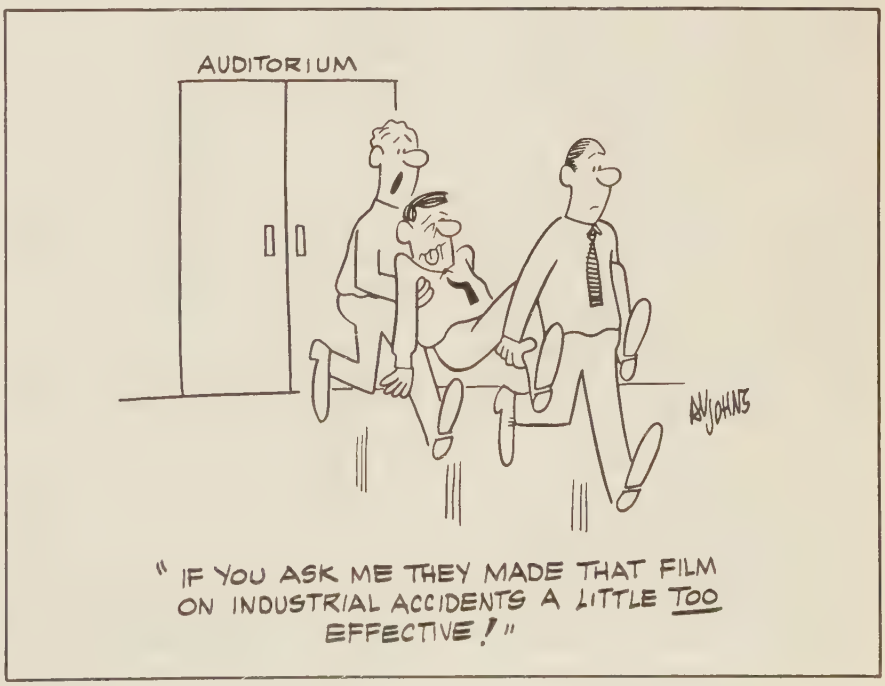
By their regular reports to the Occupational Health and Safety Division, the joint committees provide an on-going review of conditions in the workplace. Robert Sass, speaking to CAALL in 1975, suggested that when division inspections do take place, they can be more effective because the inspector enters the situation better informed. At the same time the inspector's skill and knowledge of regulations is passed on to the committee, enabling them to function better.

The inspector's relationship is now not only with management but also with the joint committees whose co-chairmen (management and worker representatives) accompany him on inspections and receive his reports. In a further move in the 1977 Occupational Health and Safety Act, the need for follow-up inspection visits has been reduced by requiring the employer to report correction of deficiencies identified by the inspector to the joint committee, except where there is a risk of serious personal injury, in which case the inspector himself must be notified of compliance with the directions he gave.

The joint committees are taught how to monitor particular health hazards and are supplied with equipment to enable them to do so. This not only means regular inspection of health hazards but enables better use to be made of the skills of the occupational hygienist who is able to concentrate on more complex problems.

The key element in this re-deployment of inspectional functions is the quality of the joint committee. This was recognized at an early stage by the Division. Courses are provided for committee members, information is supplied to them, and the Division is available to give advice or special assistance if necessary. At the same time, anti-discrimination legislation protects the committees and workers who complain to them about health or safety hazards.

In Alberta, in 1975, the report of the Industrial Health and Safety Commission (the Gale Report) recommended similar action. The inspectorates of the four major departments and boards involved were to be brought together in one unified operation. This recommendation was accepted by the Alberta government, and the Department of Labour was selected as the base under a new and stronger Occupational Health and Safety Act in 1976. Gale recognized the problems inherent in such an amalgamation which would "bring together persons with varying degrees of training and expertise, with different interests and priorities," but considered the benefits would outweigh the difficulties. Duplication of services would be eliminated, and so also would competition between the services in the recruitment of trained personnel.



More important, the mix of personnel would bring together a wide variety of experience which could be shared throughout the inspectorate. The report visualized the use of joint and group inspection methods, utilizing the range of skills required in any particular situation, as well as the establishment of special technical units geared to support various field operations.

Gale also recommended the extensive use of joint employer/employee safety and health committees as a means to upgrade the whole self-regulation and inspection system. The report suggested that "an effective committee serves as an 'accident prevention'

...the problem of the attitude of the courts toward offending employers remains

body, health inspector and consultant to the worker and the work site, as well as a source of information for those charged with overall supervision of occupational safety and health." The Alberta government, in accepting this recommendation (in a statement by the Minister of Labour in March 1976), said:

The long term objective will be to organize and train these committees to carry out self-inspections, and to identify and correct hazardous situations, ensuring the monitoring of occupational health and safety at all times, and not only on those occasions when a government inspector is at hand.

The Ontario Royal Commission on the Health and Safety of Workers in Mines (the Ham Report) also recommends the merging of all health and safety functions into the Ministry of Labour. However, Ham talks less about the benefits of shared expertise. Rather, he says that while the merger should permit "some concentration of work, it should not be an instrument of ill-considered homogenization." The distinctiveness of the problems of health and safety in the different fields of work needed to be respected. This recommended merger was accepted by the Ontario government, and implementation has taken place in the last year or so.

Ham also stressed his concern that there was no established means by which workers could assess conditions of work as a whole and through which the insight derived from their collective knowledge and experience could be utilized in preventing accidents and monitoring health hazards. To meet this problem he proposed the establishment (or strengthening) of joint labour-management health and safety committees and the appointment of worker-auditors.

The basic function of the worker-auditors (who were to be selected from experienced workers) was "to contribute to management and subsequently to the mining inspectorate the judgments of experienced workers on conditions pertaining to health and safety in the operations designated for such workers' review." The designation of workplaces for review would be made by management in consultation with the joint committee and the mining inspectors. The worker-auditors' role was to be an advisory one. "The intention is to provide management with an additional form of audit of operations while informing the mining inspectorate of the details of the review."

The joint labour-management health and safety committees proposed by Ham also are given a consultative and advisory role. They would act as a forum of consultation between those with the ability to contribute (i.e., the workers) and those accountable for deciding what is to be done (i.e., the management). They woul be concerned with policies, system performance, operations and conditions rather than specif safety and health problems.

The question of the status (an with it the recruitment and training) of inspectors has bee tackled only to a limited exten

Although the inspector is to receive copies of the reports and minutes of the worker-auditor and the joint committee, and so would be better informed prior to inspec tion visits, and is expected to communicate more fully with workers during and after his inspection visits, no substantial change in the role of the inspectorate is proposed. The Ham proposals do not so much suggest a re-ordering of responsibilities and a consequent re-deployment of th inspectorate, as an opening up of the whole inspection and regulation process to worker scrutiny and advice.

The temporary Ontario Employees Health and Safety Act (December 1976) which embodied these recommendations in legislation endorsed the advisory and consul tative role of the joint committees and of what the Act named Health and Safety Representatives. The latter were given the right to accompany an inspector on his work-site visits and receive a cop of his report. Similar provisions a included in the fuller legislation c 1978.

Changes in Alberta and Ontario, a well as similar moves in Manitoba and Newfoundland and slightly different developments in New Brunswick, are all too recent to b

able to assess their effect on the inspectorate, as are the shifts in emphasis at Labour Canada toward greater worker participation. Certainly some seem more likely than others to give the inspectorate the means and the opportunity to do effective work.

All the commissions of inquiry recommended that more rigorous enforcement measures be taken against neglectful employers. In most provinces the level of maximum fines has been raised, in several the penalties now include a prison sentence, and the numbers of prosecutions have substantially increased. However, the problem of the attitude of the courts toward offending emloyers still remains. Robert Sass, discussing the use of enforcement as a preventive measure commented (*The Labour Gazette* April, 1977) that the courts were lenient toward employers violating safety regulations where no injury had taken place. In a recent Saskatchewan case (he said) an employer found guilty of violating health and safety regulations was fined on each count an amount that was less than the cost of a speeding ticket.

The question of the status (and with it the recruitment and training) of inspectors has been tackled only to a limited extent. Generally it appears to be hoped that the recognition of the importance of the task of the inspector will have a flow-on effect inside and outside the public service and that the old view of the inspector as a second class policeman checking compliance with safety regulations will give way to a recognition of his new role as the expert adviser brought in to deal with especially complex health and safety problems or to make in-depth examinations of total health and safety programs. The demands of this changed role must in turn have an effect on the qualifications required, the remuneration given, and the status accorded to the inspectorate.

W.A. Martin, writing in 1975 (*The Labour Gazette* Anniversary Edition) drew attention to this changing role of the inspectorate and said "This will, of necessity, require a general upgrading of the competence of regulatory personnel, an undertaking of no small dimension when due allowance is made for the vested interest in maintaining the status quo and the increasing restrictions on expanding government budgets."

Martin was writing before the publication of the Ham and Beaudry reports and the Science Council of Canada's *Policies and Poisons* study and before questions of occupational health and safety became hot political and media issues. There ought to be no doubt now in the minds of the public and government of the vital importance of an effective inspectorate to the health and safety of Canadian workers. Whether this gets translated into action in times of acute economic difficulty remains to be seen. lg

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Joan C. Brown, a social policy analyst, is the author of How Much Choice? Retirement Policies in Canada *and* A Hit and Miss Affair: Policies for Disabled People in Canada, *published by the Canadian Council on Social Development. She is also a former Secretary-General of the Australian Council of Social Service.*

Labour Legislation in Canada, 1977

Part 5: Workers' compensation

by Michel Gauvin

In 1977, Alberta, Prince Edward Island, Quebec and Saskatchewan passed acts to amend their workers' compensation legislation. In the Northwest Territories, a new Workers' Compensation Ordinance was adopted, and amendments were also made to the legislation of other jurisdictions.

Coverage

In **Alberta**, effective January 1, 1977, the Workers' Compensation Act protects all personnel, including pilots and other members of the air crew, who are employed in industries such as aerial advertising, spraying or surveying, air ambulance, airplane transportation, flying schools and clubs, operation of airplanes for hire and water bombing.

Extraprovincial and foreign-based charter flights are exempted from the application of the Act unless the work in which they are engaged is carried out as part of an industry within the scope of the Act, or an application to be covered has been approved by the Board.

Effective September 1, 1977, **Quebec** passed an Act to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Act respecting indemnities for victims of asbestosis and silicosis in mines and quarries and to amend again the Social Affairs Commission Act. This legislation has granted protection under the Workmen's Compensation Act to the student who, under the responsibility of a teaching institution, undergoes a non-remunerated training period in an industry covered by the Act.

Earnings ceiling

The increases in the maximum annual insurable earnings are as in Table 1.

Quebec has established an adjustment mechanism to determine the maximum rate of annual insurable earnings. It is equal to 150 per cent (for 1977: 140 per cent, and for 1978: 145 per cent) of a yearly average computed on the basis of the average weekly earnings of the industrial composite in Quebec as established by Statistics Canada for each of the twelve months preceding July 1 of the year preceding the year for which the maximum rate of annual insurable earnings is computed.

The maximum rate of annual insurable earnings is rounded off to the next highest $500 and is applicable from January 1 for the year 1978 and for each subsequent year.

The legislation provides for a possible change in the adjustment formula where a new method is adopted by Statistics Canada to determine the average weekly earnings for a given month.

Table 1

Jurisdiction	*Increase in maximum annual insurable earnings*	*Date of coming into force*
Alberta	from $14,500 to $15,600	1/7/77
British Columbia	from $15,600 to $17,600	1/1/78
Manitoba	from $16,000 to $17,000	1/1/78
Quebec	from $13,500 to $15,500 and to $18,000	1/9/77 1/1/78
Saskatchewan	from $16,000 to $18,000	1/1/78
Northwest Territories	from $10,000 to $14,500	1/1/77
Yukon Territory	from $13,000 to $17,000	1/1/78

Benefits to dependants

In **Alberta**, effective July 1, 1977, the Workers' Compensation Amendment Act, 1977, brought increases in the income of dependants.

Where the only dependants are persons other than a widow, widower, child or common-law spouse, the compensation payable as the result of an accident occurring on or after July 1, 1977, is a sum which is determined as reasonable by the Board and which is proportionate to the pecuniary loss to those dependants occasioned by the death but which does not exceed $90 per month (formerly $70) to a parent or parents or $135 per month (formerly $105) in total payments to all such dependants.

The sum paid to a dependent widow or widower as a contribution to the additional expense occasioned by the death of a worker has been increased from $500 to $600. The maximum expenses for the funeral have been raised from $450 to $600, and for transporting the body from $100 to $200.

Foster parents receiving compensation for accidents that occurred on or after July 1, 1977, are entitled to $345 per month, together with an additional $90 per month for each child maintained.

Upon remarriage on or after July 1, 1977, a dependent widow or widower is granted a lump sum of $4,140, the pension is discontinued, and eligible dependent children are entitled to an allowance of $90 per month.

The amendments to the Act brought an increase in the pension paid to a dependent spouse. The situation is as follows:

a. If the accident occurred on or after July 1, 1977, the dependent spouse receives the same pension the deceased worker would have received had the accident resulted in permanent total disability to the worker (75 per cent of actual earnings up to a maximum of $15,600). This provides a maximum pension of $975 per month and a minimum pension of $436 per month.

b. If the accident occurred on or between January 1, 1974, and June 30, 1977, the dependent spouse receives a minimum pension of $436 per month or an addition of 7½ per cent to the existing pension, whichever is the greater.

c. If the accident occurred before January 1, 1974, the dependent spouse receives an increased pension of $345 per month (formerly $320).

Prince Edward Island passed an Act to amend the Worker's Compensation Act which modified certain provisions dealing with benefits paid to dependants.

In addition to a monthly pension of $250, starting April 1, 1977, a dependent widow or invalid widower who has one or more children receives an allowance of $50 per month (formerly $40) for each child under 16.

Dependent orphan children under 16 receive a monthly payment of $75 compared with $50 previously.

In **Saskatchewan**, effective April 1, 1977, amendments to the Workers' Compensation Act, 1974, increased the monthly pension payable to a dependent spouse from $275 to $325. The additional allowance paid for a dependent child under 16 went up from $65 to $85 per month.

An orphan child under 16 is entitled to a monthly payment of $110 compared with $80 previously.

In **British Columbia**, **Nova Scotia**, **Quebec** and the **Yukon Territory**, benefits to dependants are automatically increased in relation to the cost of living.

Disability benefits

The legislation governing compensation for disability incurred at work has been amended in some jurisdictions. The minimum compensation for total disability was increased as in Table 2.

In **Alberta**, effective July 1, 1977, all existing permanent disability pensions have been increased by 7½ per cent, with a minimum of $436 per month for permanent total disability and a proportionate monthly amount for permanent partial disability.

In **Quebec**, the Workmen's Compensation Act now obliges the employer to pay an employee suffering from a temporary total disability following a work accident, or caused by an aggravation subsequent to such an accident, an amount equal to the compensation for the disability. The amount must be paid at the time the employee would ordinarily have received his wages and it covers the first five days on which the workman is totally disabled to work, not counting the day on which the accident occurred.

If the claim of the workman for compensation under the Act is subsequently deemed well-founded, the Workmen's Compensation Commission will reimburse the employer any sum paid pursuant to the provision just described. Otherwise, the employer may demand reimbursement from the workman.

An employer who does not comply with the requirement to pay

Table 2

Jurisdiction	*Permanent total*	*Temporary total*
Alberta	$436 per month (formerly $405)	weekly equivalent of permanent total*
British Columbia	$463.57 per month (formerly $443.62)	$106.97 per week* (formerly $102.37)
Nova Scotia	$307 per month (formerly $284)	$82.50 per week* (no change)
Saskatchewan	$405 per month (formerly $75 per week)	$405 per month* (formerly $75 per week)
Northwest Territories	$398.75 per month* (formerly $55 per week)	$398.75 per month* (formerly $55 per week)
Yukon Territory	$71 per week* (formerly $66)	$71 per week* (formerly $66)

*or earnings if less.

compensation as outlined above is guilty of an offence and is liable, in addition to costs, to a fine equal to twice the amount of the compensation he omitted to pay to the workman, unless the employer proves that the claim of the workman was deemed unfounded.

Effective April 1, 1977, **Saskatchewan** has increased the monthly amount of compensation to which an injured worker is entitled for permanent disability according to the following formula: the percentage degree of impairment x $80.

This increase applies only to compensation for injuries from accidents which occurred prior to January 1, 1976.

An injured worker is only entitled to one increase in compensation which is the greater of:

1) the increase in the minimum amount of compensation which is paid in respect of a permanent disability (see Table 2); or

2) the increase obtained by the application of the formula mentioned above.

Review of decisions

The **Quebec** Workmen's Compensation Commission may delegate generally, to such of its functionaries as it may designate, its powers to examine into, hear and determine, in first instance, all matters and questions respecting the right to compensation, the amount of compensation, and the degree of impairment of earning capacity.

Every person who believes he has been wronged by a decision rendered by such a functionary may first apply to a review board to have it reviewed and then may appeal from the decision rendered in review to a body unconnected with the Commission, namely, the Social Affairs Commission. It is also possible to appeal to the Social Affairs Commission regarding a decision made under the Act respecting indemnities for victims of asbestosis and silicosis in mines and quarries.

Compensable diseases

British Columbia has added gastro intestinal cancer (as described in the legislation) to its schedule of industrial diseases deemed to have been due to the nature of employment unless the contrary is proved.

This applies to disablements or deaths from gastro-intestinal cancer occurring on or after March 1, 1977, when a worker has been employed in any industry or process where there is exposure to asbestos fibres if, during the period between the first exposure and the diagnosis of gastro-intestinal cancer, there has been a period of, or periods adding up to, 20 years of continuous exposure to asbestos fibres. Such exposure must represent or be a manifestation of the major component of the occupational activity in which it occurred.

In **Manitoba**, there has been a revision to the regulation respecting fire fighters under the Workers' Compensation Act. The regulation deals with injuries to the lungs, brain, kidneys or heart of full-time members of professional fire-fighting departments.

Northwest Territories

The Northwest Territories have adopted a new Workers' Compensation Ordinance which was proclaimed into force on April 1, 1977.

Among other things, an accident fund has been established for the payment of compensation and other expenses authorized by the Ordinance. As in the provinces, the fund is made up by assessments paid by all employers covered, in the manner provided in the legislation.

The Ordinance incorporates a system of calculating compensa-

tion which is unique in Canada. A "Year's Maximum Assessable Remuneration" (YMAR) is determined by the legislation ($14,500 effective January 1, 1977) and the payments to beneficiaries are based on a certain percentage of that amount.

Upon the death of a worker, the lump sum payable to an eligible dependent widow or widower and the maximum funeral expenses allowed in such a case are equal to 4 per cent of the YMAR ($580). The monthly payment to those persons is 2.75 per cent of the YMAR ($398.75). Dependent children under 16 and invalid children receive 0.625 per cent of the YMAR ($90.62) monthly.

The compensation for total disability is still 75 per cent of the worker's average monthly remuneration subject to an annual ceiling of $14,500. The minimum monthly compensation for such a disability is 2.75 per cent of the YMAR ($398.75) or the worker's earnings if they are less.

Penitentiary Inmates Accident Compensation

On October 6, 1977, the **federal** jurisdiction issued terms and conditions for penitentiary inmates accident compensation.

The type of employment covered includes participation in any work activity sponsored, approved or permitted by the Canadian Penitentiary Service, or in any other activity it requires, excluding employment of an inmate who is on parole, other than day parole, and of an inmate who is under mandatory supervision. It also includes attendance at a training course that is approved by the Service for the inmate concerned and being transported by transportation arranged for or provided by the Service in connection with the activities described above.

Where an accident (including an industrial disease) causes the death of an inmate or ex-inmate, the dependants entitled to benefits under the terms and conditions, receive payments as follows:

1) the necessary funeral expenses, not exceeding $400;

2) at the discretion of the Solicitor General, the extra expenses of transporting the body to a region or area outside the one in which the inmate or ex-inmate lived immediately before his death, not exceeding $100;

3) a lump sum of $400 plus $250 per month for the spouse, and where there are children, an additional monthly amount of $40 for each eligible child;

4) $50 per month for each orphan child entitled to benefits;

5) where there is no surviving spouse or children, a sum that, at the discretion of the Solicitor General, is reasonable and proportionate to the pecuniary loss sustained by the dependant as a result of the death but not exceeding $40 per month for a surviving parent, $30 per month for a surviving dependant other than a parent, and $60 per month in the aggregate for all surviving dependants.

The monthly payments for a spouse are discontinued if the spouse remarries or cohabits with another person as the common-law spouse of that person. However, where the spouse remarries, a lump sum equal to twelve monthly payments is paid within one month of the date of the marriage.

The monthly benefits paid in respect of a deceased inmate or ex-inmate, as described above, cannot exceed, in the aggregate, 75 per cent of the monthly minimum wage that is in force on the date of the payment.

In these terms and conditions for penitentiary inmates accident compensation, the minimum wage mentioned is the one required to be paid to persons 17 years or over as set out in Part III of the Canada Labour Code.

Where a compensable accident causes the physical disability of an inmate and the disability subsists after the date of his release on parole, under mandatory supervision or on lawful discharge, the amount of the payment for the ex-inmate will, from such date and as long as the disability continues, be a monthly sum proportionate to the impairment of his earning capacity as determined by the Solicitor General on the basis of the nature and degree of the physical disability but not exceeding the monthly sum equal to 75 per cent of the minimum wage that is in force on the date of the payment.

Circumstances are specified where an ex-inmate entitled to compensation would receive a lump sum in lieu of periodic payments and provision is made regarding the payment of medical care.

A claimant who is dissatisfied with the amount of a payment to him or who has been refused a payment or whose payments have been discontinued may, in writing, request the Solicitor General to review the circumstances relating to the amount, refusal or discontinuance of the payments, and the latter will, within a reasonable time after the receipt of a request, make the necessary review and advise the claimant in writing of his decision in the matter. lg

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Michel Gauvin is a legislation analyst with Labour Canada.

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comment

Need for reform

Structural reforms and public policy changes in dispute settlement methods are important change strategies and should not be denigrated. These experiments and changes are healthy and sometimes helpful. But they constitute little more than tinkering at the margin and bring about changes of, at best, a tangential nature. Furthermore, any improvements may not be long lasting because the change is unlikely to have dealt with attitudes and perceptions.

Structural change, in particular, simply introduces a new and uneasy equilibrium in power relationships. Pressures quickly build to change and modify the new, reformed structure.

With respect to public policy specifically, the federal and provincial governments have shown little inclination to experiment with the basic legal framework regulating industrial relations in Canada. With few exceptions governments in Canada over the past 25 years have not forced massive changes on the parties. It seems safe to assume that, at both levels, government is unlikely to introduce dramatic innovations particularly in the area of dispute resolution methods.

Even if government does take action on the public policy or structural front it is unlikely that the changes will deal with the fundamental causes of labour strife. Over and above this, the role of government should probably be a modest one. Benjamin Aaron, a leading United States labour lawyer and expert in industrial relations, has concluded: "The principal task of industrial statesmanship today is to devise ways in which the government can participate in the collective bargaining process as an adviser or service agency rather than as a policeman."

This is sensible, particularly in light of our labour market institutions and their characteristics, and, at least prior to the Anti-Inflation Program, was generally accepted in Canada. The statement implies, nevertheless, that government does have a role to play in improving industrial relations practices and procedures. At the same time, it would seem that the best way, indeed perhaps the only way, to improve industrial relations in Canada significantly is through procedural and attitudinal reform. If the major opportunity for real changes resides with these two strategies, a heavy responsibility obviously lies in the hands of labour and management. To stimulate change, however, government could provide services and, perhaps more importantly, financial incentives to those parties who innovate in the area of industrial relations practice.

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Prospects for multinational bargaining

The history of collective bargaining in most countries of the world has been similar. First, workers have organized to confront employers with collective demands. Second, worker organizations (unions) have affiliated or merged with other unions that represent workers in similar companies, or industries. Third, because of conflict, or potential conflict (strikes or lockouts), governments have developed, over time, a body of laws regulating behaviour of employers and unions in the collective bargaining process. Labour laws, however, are based on the political, social, and economic development of a particular country, and, consequently, vary considerably between nations.

Although there is a small body of international law, it tends to be restricted to the trade and commerce area. Labour law has evolved, country by country, and remains on that basis today. There is no multinational labour law. In addition to establishing rules of behaviour in the collective bargaining process, these laws also protect the rights of third parties, the workers themselves, and the general public. What we have today, then, is the internationalization of corporations, the international affiliation of unions with like interests and the absolute sovereignty of a group of nations with no integration of their laws; nor any apparent willingness on

the part of governments to subordinate national objectives to accommodate bargaining goals of unions in different countries.

What are the prospects, then, of multinational bargaining? I would submit that trade unions normally have the goal of obtaining common wage patterns, benefit programs, and working conditions. Nation-states, normally, take no exception to these goals for workers within that nation. However, where pressure for uniformity across national boundaries impinges on an economic, social, or political goal of the nation-state, then the government itself will take action to assure that its own goals take precedence.

Let me give a very simple example to illustrate this point. Let's assume that unions in two industrialized countries agree to coordinate bargaining with a major multinational corporation operating in both countries. The unions agree on a major wage increase as the highest priority issue in both countries. Let's assume, however, that one of these countries has an inflation rate double that of the other country — not an uncommon phenomenon in today's world. If the country with the high inflation rate sees a high wage settlement as exacerbating its own economic goal of reducing inflation, it may well take action that would thwart the bargaining goals of the two affiliated unions.

In today's society, the sovereignty of nations is inviolable. It is that sovereignty, in my opinion, which will prohibit true multinational bargaining. The organization which comes the closest to merging national goals is the European Community. The Community is a group of nations, geographically close, with the aim of developing common economic and social policies and, ultimately, a political union. However, since each country in the Community is a sovereign nation, the collective goals are often thwarted. Inflation rates in the United Kingdom and Italy are five to six times that of West Germany. There are major differences in unemployment rates between member states; and wages, benefits, and working conditions for workers in member countries vary widely.

Unions within the Community countries have formed strong alliances and have often agreed on common goals; however, because of the economic differences cited above, it has not been possible, to effectively co-ordinate bargaining across national boundaries.

I would submit that there will not be effective multinational bargaining in the near future, not because of the intransigency of multinational corporations, but, rather, because of differing economic, social, and political goals of nations. The greatest impediment to multinational bargaining is the sovereignty of the nation-state.

George B. McCullough
Manager, Employee Relations,
Exxon Corporation

Resolving bargaining impasses

I believe that the most significant future changes to Canadian labour relations legislation will be those that deal with the resolution of bargaining impasses. A number of innovations have been introduced in public service collective bargaining legislation that go beyond anything to be found in general labour relations legislation. In the latter, the approach has been to provide the Minister of Labour with an "arsenal of weapons" — a variety of mechanisms the Minister can employ in dealing with different disputes.

I regard the phrase "arsenal of weapons" an unfortunate choice of terms because it places emphasis on the adversarial aspect of the process. In collective bargaining there is bound to be a degree of difference between the parties, but the end result must accommodate the interests of both parties. I would prefer terminology and an approach that would encourage the parties to devise their own mechanism for the resolution of interest disputes.

Last year, for example, the state of New Jersey enacted legislation governing collective bargaining for police and firefighters. It provides for third party binding determination of differences and sets out six alternative processes for the resolution of impasses. The legislation enables the parties to select the one they prefer. The processes include:

- conventional arbitration
- final offer by package inclusive of the factfinder's report
- final offer by package on economic matters and issue-by-issue on non-economic matters.

In addition, the parties are free to devise other settlement procedures, subject to the approval of the Public Employment Relations Commission.

I am not suggesting that third-party binding determination should be imposed by legislation in Canada. It occurs to me, however, that we should give some thought to devising a series of alternative

methods of dispute resolution that would be available to the parties so that they would be encouraged to experiment with various techniques in an effort to determine which method is best suited to them.

It has frequently been said that the best collective agreement is the one the parties work out for themselves. Perhaps the best way of resolving bargaining impasses is through the method that the parties adopt for themselves, rather than one imposed upon them by law.

Jacob Finkelman
Former Chairman,
Public Service Staff Relations Board

Books

The Labour Beat: An Introduction to Unions

by **Roy LaBerge**, Media Algonquin, Ottawa, 1978, 220pp.

The Labour Beat: An Introduction to Unions. That's the catchy title of a 220-page paperback just published by Media Algonquin, the publishing arm of Algonquin College in Ottawa.

The book is just what the title says, a simply and crisply written introduction to labour organizations: what they are, how they operate, the laws that govern them, and where they stand on major Canadian issues.

It was written by an Algonquin College teacher who is a former director of public relations for the Canadian Union of Public Employees and former editor of *Canadian Labour*, published by the Canadian Labour Congress. He first wrote the manuscript as a manual for reporters covering labour, but adapted it for a broader audience.

The result is a well-documented work that can meet a variety of needs: a text for educational programs, a reference book, and interesting reading for anyone who wants to become better informed about organized labour.

The wide range of topics it discusses includes labour laws, negotiations, the major unions and labour organizations, arbitration, automation, Canadian autonomy, catch-up bargaining, cost-of-living allowances, conciliation, industrial democracy, industry-wide bargaining, labour's social goals, multinational corporations, unions and the NDP, unions for professionals, Quebec's labour unrest, raiding, ratification rejections, strikes and lockouts, union "bosses", union ethics, wage restraints, women and unions, and just about anything else Canadians ought to know about organized labour.

LaBerge treats many of the complex issues with a refreshing frankness and clarity, and shoots down a number of myths and misconceptions about the labour movement, many of which can probably be attributed to ignorance on the part of some reporters covering industrial relations. His book is full of practical advice to them and to the public in general, concerning the right and the wrong way of reporting or understanding the labour scene.

He points for example to the indis criminate use of the term "labour bosses" which "fits conveniently into a two-column headline but does not necessarily reflect the relationship between elected unio officers and their membership...To stay in office, union leaders have to win elections, and to implemen policies they have to win approva of meetings or conventions."

"Reporters are frequently confused by union democracy. When a leadership motion is defeated at a meeting or convention, they see it as some kind of membership or delegate 'revolt' rather than as a normal part of the workings of union democracy.

"Reporters also often misjudge th import of labour debates. A succession of delegates may roundly criticize a leadership proposal from the floor, but when the vote comes the proposal may be adopted by a big majority of delegates...Reporters do not reco nize organized labour as a politica movement in which the dissident minority may be the group most often heard from during debates."

The book contains a full chapter advice in a chapter called "Do's and Don'ts for Reporters."

"Report organized labour's decision-making processes accurately and explain them where necessary," he warns the reader under advice No. 14. "Don't say labour bosses ordered their members to do something unless they were and did."

In the same chapter, he advises reporters to keep leaders of minority organizations, such as the Confederation of Canadian Unions or the Christian Labour Association, in perspective. "Don't report them in such a way that the public accepts theirs as the conventional views of the labour movement."

Here are some more pieces of sound advice from Roy LaBerge:

- *When reporting initial union proposals and initial company offers, interpret them as such, rather than as true negotiating objectives. Don't report them without interpretation, on the assumption the public knows how unions and management negotiate.*

- *Remember a strike vote is frequently used as a technique to arm union negotiators with more bargaining power...Don't refer to every strike vote as an imminent strike or even a probable strike.*

- *Remember, as a reporter your direct task is to report industrial relations, not reform them.*

And finally, this pearl: "Double check your sources' 'facts'. Don't take it for granted that the people you quote know what they are talking about — not even chairmen of boards, union presidents or ministers of labour."

To full-time labour reporters, this book will be a valuable reference source. To students and the public in general it is an interesting capsule description of what the labour movement is all about.

And to the reporter who occasionally gets assigned to a labour story, as well as his news editor, *The Labour Beat* is an absolute must.

The book is available for $6.00 (lower prices for bulk orders) from Media Algonquin, 1385 Woodroffe Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario K2G 1V8.

Charles Bauer

The Right to Useful Unemployment

and its Professional Enemies

by **Ivan Illich**, Burns and MacEachern, Toronto, 1978 95pp.

Ivan Illich's essay is brief, pointed and highly provocative. Using the deteriorating condition of language as an example, he propels us into a startling discussion of how "standardization of human action" on every social level from media to medicine has reduced the human drive toward creativity and productivity outside the market place. As a result, value has come to have significance only insofar as the market allows. Goods produced or services rendered outside the market structure are not reflected regardless of their contribution. Out of these conditions arises a new kind of poverty that "deprives those affected by it of their freedom and power to act autonomously," so they become in effect the proverbial unthinking cogs in the machine of production.

Repeated use of words like "standardized" and "engineered" serves to evoke an image of the market as a machine, with professionals as machine caretakers. At the same time the machine gobbles up as many of those tasks as it can successfully specialize and spew out to professionals. Simultaneously it devalues the few remaining jobs that it cannot digest. In addition, unemployment is stigmatized because it contributes nothing recognizable to this market oriented system. But does unemployment need to be defined in terms of a market-intensive society?

Illich begins by dealing with the manner in which society currently operates and he indicates throughout that choices have to be made; choices between a greater or lesser degree of dependence on industrial commodities and between different forms of these commodities on the one hand and a new approach to the interrelationship between needs and satisfactions on the other. Illich goes on to suggest, however, that those on whom the public have come to rely and trust to help them make such choices have themselves become part of the system.

Professionals have an interest in maintaining the present structure and through consumer indoctrination have made themselves indispensable. To a degree the market can support this situation but eventually "radical monopoly" takes over. When this happens, professionals discourage people from doing or making things themselves and encourage them instead to use a professional service or a market commodity. Tasks which people used to do for themselves are transferred to the market, so that little remains for the average person to do himself. Should a person have a service or article to offer, it would not be welcomed unless it filled some previously untapped consumer need, or a need for it could be created.

Illich concludes that only work done within the corporate infrastructure has value. Unemployment in this age of standardized housing, teaching, and medical

care is a despised condition. The unemployed are seen as contributing nothing to the market structure and are therefore chastised (by being awarded their unemployment insurance cheques). Yet nothing in the system provides an incentive to work beyond the market mechanism, to produce goods or services of value that are neither engineered nor standardized. The choice is made clear: dependence on the present market system or a movement toward "a society in which frustrated workers organize to protest the freedom of people to be useful outside the activities that result in the production of commodities."

Unfortunately, however, in what is an otherwise clear and logical essay, Illich's principal topic occasionally becomes ambiguous and somewhat ill-defined, although in most cases its meaning does eventually become clear. But in all, the essay is an enlightening view of our present market system and its attendant ills, ills that are all the more worrisome because they are camouflaged in artificial consumer needs — needs created and maintained by the system itself. In writing this essay Illich has succeeded in formulating what many people have no doubt suspected for some time. Moreover, by removing the word "unemployment" from its market context he has provided new guidelines for re-evaluating our work ethic.

P. Schieman

Cancer and the Worker

The New York Academy of Sciences, New York, 1977

Hundreds of thousands of Canadian workers will go to their jobs tomorrow not knowing what dangers they face. Many of them will be exposed to cancer-causing agents or processes. Few of them will be told of that fact. It isn't that governments, professionals and employers don't know about cancer in the workplace. It's just that they rarely bother to tell workers.

This New York Academy of Sciences publication embodies a different approach. Based on a U.S. scientific conference on Occupational Carcinogins held in March, 1975, its starting point is that, "All workers have the right to know, especially when the subject is cancer. Scientists, industry and government officials have the moral responsibility to share with workers whatever knowledge they have, even if it is limited at this time. This book is a step in that direction. It is a tool for seeking a safer workplace. Use it."

The book is divided into four parts. *Part 1* deals with questions such as: What is cancer? What causes it? Is it reversible? How much exposure to a carcinogin does it take to cause cancer?

Part 2 discusses three broad groups of substances which cause occupational cancer: chemicals; metals; dusts and fibers. This information has been taken directly from the scientific papers and rewritten for workers. Chemicals including vinyl chloride, benezene, and cutting and lubricating oils are discussed and labelled as cancer-causing. Nickel, arsenic, and chromates are metals that cause cancer. Asbestos, radioactive particles, and some wood dusts are proven carcinogins.

Fibrous glass, commonly used as an asbestos substitute, is placed in a 'caution' group: "...scientists stress that until more is known, exposure to glass fibers should be kept to a minimum through engineering controls and good work practices." Also in Part 2, the effects of smoking and the danger of industrial cancer reaching into workers' homes and communities are pointed out.

Part 3 is concerned with ways to prevent occupational cancer. Efforts by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) in controlling cancer hazards are outlined. The basic principles used by NIOSH deserve attention. They are:

- Any substance that definitely causes tumors in animals should be considered carcinogenic and a potential cancer hazard to man. It doesn't matter whether the substance causes benign tumors or malignant ones, since a benign tumor often turns cancerous.

- There is no known way to determine a safe level of exposure to any substance known to cause cancer in animals.

One hopes that the new Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety will quickly adopt these principles. Our workers would thus be able to feel confident that Canadian authorities, too, are determined to prevent cancer in the workplace.

Finally, the whole question of cancer is examined within the political and economic structure of our society where it properly belongs. "The real issue in occupational cancer is not so much if we can prevent it, but whether we are willing to prevent it. Occupational cancer is a social disease, a disease whose causes and controls are deeply rooted in the technology and economy of our society. Prevention of cancer is largely an

attainable goal, but it requires the co-ordinated effort of all parts of society: government, the scientific community, industry, labour, and an informed public." Although many examples given are from the U.S., the issues raised are international. *Cancer and the Worker* must be read by workers. Their lives may depend on it.

Ray Sentes

Research Notes

Industrial relations — general

Industrial Relations in Canada: Towards a Better Understanding, edited by William Dodge, Leslie Ann Ferrari and Ann E. Jepson. The Conference Board in Canada, June 1978.

This report is based on a round table meeting at which more than 20 industrialists, labour leaders and government officials participated. It includes the text of several formal presentations as well as edited summaries of the discussions. Major areas covered are labour law and its effects on collective bargaining; the evolution of collective bargaining in selected industries and regions; collective bargaining in the public sector; organizing the labour force; the Canadian Labour Congress — its concerns and goals; and the Canadian environment.

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The Current Industrial Relations Scene in Canada 1978. Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University. July 1978.

This annual reference volume reviews developments in Canadian industrial relations during the past year and comments on the outlook for 1978. The volume is organized into seven sections: the economy; manpower and labour markets; labour legislation and public policy; trade unionism; collective bargaining; wages, productivity and labour costs; and a reference section.

Employee ownership

"Employee-owned companies: is the difference measurable?" by Michael Conte and Arnold S. Tannenbaum. *Monthly Labor Review,* July 1978.

This article reports on an analysis of 92 U.S. and Canadian companies which have some degree of employee ownership. (Employees in about three quarters of the companies analyzed owned at least half the equity).

Among the tentative conclusions:

- the industrial relations climate in employee-owned companies appears to be good, in the judgement of managerial respondents;

- managerial respondents see employee ownership as having a positive effect on productivity and profit;

- the employee-owned companies studied appear to be profitable — perhaps more profitable than comparable, conventionally owned companies.

Hours of work

"Measures to alleviate unemployment in the medium-term: work sharing." *Department of Employment Gazette,* April 1978.

A study by Britain's Department of Employment analyzes the potential effects of a reduction in the work week from 40 to 35 hours. It concludes that this might not have effect in reducing unemployment. One problem is that there would be difficulties in altering work patterns to create additional full-time jobs and in hiring unemployed persons with the necessary skills. In addition, if weekly earnings were maintained, there would be an increase in unit labour costs which would be only partly offset by reduced unemployment benefits and increased tax revenue. The hours reduction would also lower productive capacity, which could aggravate shortages of skilled labour when economic conditions improved. Increases in employment through reductions in overtime hours, the study concludes, would be a more promising possibility.

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Work Sharing in Canada: Problems and Possibilities, by Peter Sadlier-Brown. C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1978.

By mid-April 1978, the federal

government had established pilot work-sharing programs in 17 locations. This study outlines how the experimental program is intended to work in Canada. It compares the operation of the Canadian program and the West German program on which it is modelled and explores a number of questions about work sharing in general and the Canadian program in particular. Questions examined include the costs and benefits of work sharing; its implications for collective bargaining; whether it should be financed by employer-employee contributions to unemployment insurance; and broader economic implications.

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"Preferences on worklife scheduling and work-leisure tradeoffs," by Fred Best. *Monthly Labor Review,* June 1978.

A survey of 791 manual and non-manual workers in the U.S. suggests that workers would like to see major changes in the amount and scheduling of time spent on work and increased flexibility in scheduling work and non-work activities over their life.

Questionnaire results indicated (1) that a majority of workers would prefer some additional time off rather than an equivalent pay increase; (2) most favour flexible hours and a majority would prefer to work longer weekly hours, compensated by added vacation; (3) most would prefer a form of lifetime work scheduling which would leave more time for leisure and educational pursuits during midlife.

Job satisfaction

Enrichissement du Travail et Satisfaction au Travail, by J.M. Rainville. School of Industrial Relations, University of Montreal.

A questionnaire analysis of production workers in three firms shows that "job enrichment" will not necessarily add to job satisfaction. The author shows that, regardless of the degree of job enrichment, the pace of work is a critical factor in determining the level of satisfaction: where the pace is rapid, high levels of job enrichment go with lower levels of satisfaction. Wage levels are also important. High-wage workers are more satisfied with their jobs even when the level of job enrichment is low. Job security is shown to be the most important factor affecting satisfaction for all workers. Workers who rated their job security as being good had a higher level of job satisfaction than those who considered their job security to be poor.

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"Disembodied Technical Progress: Does Employee Participation in Decision Making Contribute to Change and Growth?" by Karl-Olof Faxen. *Papers and Proceedings of the 90th Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association.*

As part of a joint union-management research project on the effects of employee participation, detailed studies of changes in work organization and the development of productivity have been conducted in a number of member firms of the Swedish Employers' Confederation. This paper reports the results of these studies and offers an interpretation of the effects of employee participation on plant productivity. A basic conclusion is that productivity can be increased substantially if organization and working methods are improved as a result of employee participation.

Organization size

Personnel Administration in Large and Middle-Sized Canadian Businesses, by Victor V. Murray and David E. Dimick. Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration, Study No. 25.

This study compares a number of dimensions of employee relations practices in ten enterprises which are among the largest in their industries with ten middle-sized companies in the same industries. The authors draw three general conclusions. First, there is no obvious "disadvantage" in being employed by a large corporation. The sophistication of policies, level of pay, availability of training, utilization of merit criteria and other factors suggest that employees may be in a better position in large as opposed to medium-sized companies. Secondly, certain types of programs which might be seen as desirable by society in general are not likely to grow in number if it is left to business alone to initiate them. Thirdly, the majority of the companies in the sample did little or nothing to develop "intrinsic motivation" — the feeling on the part of employees of doing meaningful work and having a say in that which affects them.

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Organization Size as a Factor Influencing Labour Relations, by Terence H. White. Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration, Study No. 33.

This study examines the effects of size on individuals and labour relations within organizations. An analysis of data from a sample of production workers in manufacturing organizations indicated that organization size was not a major variable explaining variations in the attitudes and behaviour of individual workers. More important were the mobility opportunities for employees within their organizations, the nature and quality of supervision, the opportunities for cohesive groups and other social networks to develop, and the

autonomy afforded workers in their jobs. The author shows, however, that there is a relationship between the frequency and duration of strikes and organization size.

Work stoppages

"The Incidence of Industrial Conflict in Canada: An Analysis of Conflict Data," by Paul Malles. *Canadian Business Economics.*

The author shows that it is very largely the exceptionally long duration of work stoppages in Canada rather than massive worker involvement which leads to excessive time loss figures by international standards. In the overwhelming majority of cases, negotiations are concluded without recourse to strike and lockout sanctions. Thus, the Canadian industrial relations system cannot be viewed as being in a state of perpetual crisis nor are Canadian workers particularly "strike-happy."

Laurence A. Kelly

Additions to the Library

The publications listed below are recent acquisitions. They may be borrowed through a local library (business, university, public, etc.) or directly — if there is no local library — by writing to The Chief Librarian, Labour Canada, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0J2, indicating the author, title and publisher.

Arbitration, Industrial

Palmer, Earl Edward. *Collective agreement arbitration in Canada,* by Earl Edward Palmer with the assistance of B. Hovius. Toronto, Butterworths, 1978. 635p.

Construction Industry

Construction industry labour relations, 1977. Bernard T. King and Donald W. Savelson, cochairmen. New York, Practising Law Institute, 1977. 520p.

Educational Leave

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Centre for Educational Research and Innovation. *Alternation between work and education; a study of educational leave of absence at enterprise level.* Paris, 1978. 97p.

Fringe Benefits

Ontario. Education Relations Commission. *Insured fringe benefits.* Toronto, 1978. 29p.

Income

Boisvert, Michel. *La relation entre la taille urbaine et le revenu per capita, au Canada,* par Michel Boisvert et Michel Legault. Ottawa, Conseil économique du Canada, 1978. 63p.

Gillespie, W. Irwin. *In search of Robin Hood: the effect of federal budgetary policies during the 1970s on the distribution of income in Canada.* Montreal, Canadian Economic Policy Committee, C.D. Howe Research Institute, 1978. 66p.

Industrial Democracy

Elliot, John. *Conflict or cooperation? the growth of industrial democracy.* London, Kogan Page, 1978. 306p.

Industrial Disputes

Batstone, Eric. *The social organization of strikes,* By Eric Batstone, Ian Boraston and Stephen Frenkel. Oxford, Eng., Basil Blackwell, 1978. 236p.

Connolly, Walter B. *Work stoppages and union responsibility,* by Walter B. Connolly and Michael J. Connolly. New York, Practising Law Institute, 1977. 499p.

Industrial Relations

Comparative industrial relations in Europe. Edited by Derek Forrington. Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1978. 270p.

Conference Board. Canadian Office. *Industrial relations in Canada: toward a better understanding: a round table discussion*

held in Toronto, June 15 and 16, 1977. Edited by William Dodge, Leslie Ann Ferrari and Ann E. Jepson. Ottawa, 1978. 138p.

Labour Leaders

Davidson, Joe. *Joe Davidson,* by Joe Davidson and John Deverell. Toronto, James Lorimer & Company, 1978. 192p.

Labour Organization

Trade unions under capitalism, edited by Tom Clarke and Laurie Clements. Atlantic Highlands, N.J., Humanities Press by agreement with Fontana, 1978. 413p.

Labour Organization — Political Activities

Lazarus, Morden. *The long winding road; Canadian labour in politics.* Vancouver, Boag Foundation, 1977. 103p.

Part-Time Employment

Bernier, Colette. *Le travail à temps partiel,* par Colette Bernier et Hélène David. Montréal, Institut de recherche appliquée sur le travail, 1978. 97p.

Pensions

Collins, Kevin. *Women and pensions.* Ottawa, Canadian Council on Social Development, 1978. 254p.

Technological Change

U.S. National Center for Productivity and Quality of Working Life. *Productivity and job security: attrition — benefits and problems* Washington, G.P.O., 1977. 116p.

Wages and Hours

Gunderson, Morley. *Data on public and private wages in Canada.* Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1977. 29p.

Work

Schrank, Robert. *Ten thousand working days.* Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1978. 243p.

labour statistics

EARNINGS AND INCOME — JULY, 1978

Average weekly earnings of the industrial composite in the preliminary estimates for July, 1978, changed slightly (on a seasonally-adjusted basis) from June.

On an *unadjusted* basis, average weekly earnings for the industrial composite increased by 6.0 per cent to $266.77 in July 1978, from $251.62 in July 1977. In real terms this amounted to a *decrease* of 3.1 per cent. For manufacturing the increase was 6.9 per cent to $282.08, while in construction it was up 4.7 per cent to $396.09.

THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX — SEPTEMBER, 1978

The all-items Consumer Price Index for Canada (1971 = 100) decreased by 0.2 per cent from 177.8 in August to 177.5 in September, the first recorded monthly decline in this index since September, 1971. As a result, the twelve-month rise between September, 1977 and September, 1978 stood at 8.6 per cent, down from the 9.4 per cent registered in the previous month. The decline in the all-items index in this latest month was attributable to the food index which declined by 2.4 per cent whereas the all-items excluding food index increased by 0.7 per cent. On a year-over-year basis the food index was 14.8 per cent higher than in September, 1977, while the non-food index was 6.2 per cent higher.

In the third quarter, 1978, the CPI was 9.3 per cent higher than the same period last year. On a *seasonally-adjusted* basis, the current annual rate of change in the third quarter was 6.1 per cent compared with 8.9 per cent the previous quarter.

THE LABOUR MARKET — SEPTEMBER 1978

The seasonally-adjusted unemployment rate remained unchanged from August at 8.5 per cent in September. The labour force increased by 0.2 per cent as the participation rate moved up to a new high of 62.9 per cent; and employment rose by 0.1 per cent.

In the major age/sex groups, the adult male rate remained at 5.5 per cent while the adult female rate rose 0.2 percentage points to 7.9 per cent and the youth unemployment rate dropped a similar amount to 14.4 per cent.

By regions, the unemployment rate declined in the Atlantic provinces (to 12.3 per cent), in Quebec (to 10.9 per cent) and in British Columbia (to 8.1 per cent); while the rate increased in Ontario (to 7.5 per cent) and the Prairies (to 5.6 per cent). The decline in unemployment was consistent with the growth of employment in all regions. While this was very strong in British Columbia (11.0 per cent) and the Atlantic provinces (0.9 per cent), there was weaker growth in Quebec (0.3 per cent). In contrast, employment declined in Ontario (- 0.4 per cent).

Employment in Canada during the third quarter, 1978, increased at an accelerated rate of 1.2 per cent — the strongest growth since the first quarter, 1974. Sharply increased growth occurred in Ontario (1.9 per cent) and in the Atlantic region (1.1 per cent), while Quebec was the only region to record a marginal decline (- 0.1 per cent).

LABOUR MARKET

	Seasonally Adjusted						Unadjusted					
	July 1978	Aug. 1978	Sept. 1978	% change[2] July	Aug.	Sept.	Aug. 1977	Aug. 1978	% Change[1]	Sept. 1977	Sept. 1978	% Change[1]
TOTAL							(numbers in thousands)					
Labour Force	11,059	11,086	11,106	0.4	0.2	0.2	11,098	11,527	3.9	10,703	11,112	3.8
Employment	10,132	10,145	10,160	0.6	0.1	0.1	10,260	10,635	3.7	9,906	10,258	3.6
Unemployment	927	941	946	- 1.8	1.5	0.5	838	892	6.4	798	854	7.0
Unemployment Rate (%)	8.4	8.5	8.5	—	—	—	7.5	7.7	—	7.5	7.7	—
Participation Rate (%)	62.8	62.8	62.9	—	—	—	64.1	65.3	—	61.8	62.9	—
Both Sexes: 15-24	64.7	64.7	64.6	—	—	—	72.2	73.7	—	61.7	62.8	—
Men:	78.1	78.3	78.1	—	—	—	81.1	81.7	—	77.7	78.0	—
— 25 and over	81.1	81.3	81.2	—	—	—	81.6	81.9	—	81.6	81.8	—
Women:	47.9	47.9	48.1	—	—	—	47.7	49.5	—	46.4	48.3	—
— 25 and over	44.1	44.1	44.3	—	—	—	41.2	43.8	—	42.9	45.0	—
EMPLOYMENT	10,132	10,145	10,160	0.4	0.1	0.1	10,260	10,635	3.7	9,906	10,258	3.6
Both Sexes: 15-24	2,542	2,532	2,535	1.5	- 0.4	0.1	2,853	2,955	3.6	2,411	2,487	3.2
Men:	6,253	6,263	6,263	0.4	0.2	0.0	6,475	6,635	2.5	6,214	6,348	2.2
— 25 and over	4,870	4,882	4,882	0.1	0.2	0.0	4,878	4,984	2.2	4,892	4,989	2.0
Women:	3,878	3,882	3,897	0.8	0.1	0.4	3,785	4,000	5.7	3,692	3,909	5.9
— 25 and over	2,720	2,731	2,743	0.7	0.4	0.4	2,529	2,697	6.6	2,603	2,782	6.9
Paid Workers	9,079	9,097	9,124	0.5	0.2	0.3	9,247	9,528	3.0	8,904	9,188	3.2
— Non-Agriculture	8,945	8,961	8,982	0.4	0.2	0.2	9,056	9,348	3.2	8,734	9,026	3.3
In Industries												
Agriculture	481	478	486	1.1	- 0.6	1.7	542	560	3.3	514	537	4.5
Manufacturing	1,983	2,006	1,998	- 0.8	1.2	- 0.4	1,979	2,102	6.2	1,951	2,035	4.3
Construction	643	641	628	0.6	- 0.3	- 2.0	728	735	1.0	695	682	- 1.9
Trade	1,771	1,742	1,754	- 0.6	- 1.6	0.7	1,755	1,792	2.1	1,715	1,745	1.7
Services	2,869	2,860	2,868	1.8	- 0.3	0.3	2,792	2,894	3.7	2,720	2,837	4.3
By Regions												
Atlantic	772	767	774	1.0	- 0.6	0.9	748	836	2.5	768	806	4.9
Quebec	2,564	2,560	2,567	0.6	- 0.2	0.3	2,502	2,692	2.0	2,545	2,598	2.1
Ontario	3,930	3,940	3,933	1.2	0.3	- 0.2	3,777	4,103	4.5	3,786	3,937	4.0
Prairies	1,766	1,767	1,760	0.5	0.1	- 0.4	1,686	1,842	4.1	1,716	1,779	3.7
British Columbia	1,113	1,116	1,127	- 0.4	0.3	1.0	1,075	1,161	4.5	1,090	1,137	4.3
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)	8.4	8.5	8.5	—	—	—	7.5	7.7	—	7.5	7.7	—
Both Sexes: 15-24	14.2	14.6	14.4	—	—	—	12.8	12.5	—	13.8	13.6	—
Men:	7.6	7.7	7.7	—	—	—	6.1	6.4	—	6.1	6.3	—
— 25 and over	5.3	5.5	5.5	—	—	—	3.9	4.3	—	3.8	4.2	—
Women:	9.7	9.7	9.8	—	—	—	9.9	9.9	—	9.6	9.9	—
— 25 and over	7.9	7.7	7.9	—	—	—	8.1	8.3	—	7.7	8.0	—
By Regions												
Atlantic	12.8	12.7	12.3	—	—	—	10.9	11.0	—	11.0	10.7	—
Quebec	10.5	11.0	10.9	—	—	—	19.6	10.1	—	9.9	10.0	—
Ontario	7.3	7.1	7.5	—	—	—	6.6	6.6	—	6.5	6.8	—
Prairies	5.1	5.3	5.6	—	—	—	4.4	4.8	—	4.0	4.8	—
British Columbia	7.7	8.4	8.1	—	—	—	8.2	7.9	—	7.5	7.3	—
EMPLOYMENT RATIO	57.5	57.5	57.5	—	—	—	59.3	60.3	—	57.2	58.1	—
Both sexes: 15-24	55.5	55.3	55.3	—	—	—	63.0	64.5	—	53.1	54.3	—
Men:	72.2	72.2	72.1	—	—	—	76.1	76.5	—	72.9	73.1	—
— 25 and over	76.8	76.8	76.7	—	—	—	78.4	78.4	—	78.5	78.4	—
Women:	43.3	43.2	43.4	—	—	—	43.0	44.6	—	41.9	43.5	—
— 25 and over	40.6	40.7	40.8	—	—	—	38.6	40.2	—	39.6	41.4	—

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

	Unadjusted						Seasonally Adjusted		
	1978			% Change From Previous Year			Current Annual Rate of Change		
	July	Aug.	Sept.	July	Aug.	Sept.	July	Aug.	Sept.
All Items (1971 = 100)	177.7	177.8	177.5	9.8	9.4	8.6	12.7	7.6	6.1
Food "	219.7	216.7	211.6	20.1	17.8	14.8	29.5	12.3	1.1
Total Ex-Food "	163.5	164.6	165.8	6.0	6.2	6.2	6.1	5.5	8.6

EARNINGS AND INCOME

	Unadjusted						Seasonally Adjusted							
	June 1977	June 1978[p]	% change[1]	July 1977	July 1978[p]	% change[1]	Apr. 1978[p]	May 1978[p]	June 1978[p]	July 1978[p]	% change[2] May	% change[2] June	% change[2] June	% change[2] July
AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS ($)														
Industrial Composite	251.86	268.80	6.7	251.62	266.77	6.0	262.18	263.06	265.86	265.84	0.7	1.0	1.1	- 0.1
Real ($ 1971)	155.66	151.27	- 2.8	154.84	150.00	- 3.1	151.05	150.54	150.15	150.23	- 0.0	- 0.3	- 0.3	0.1
By Regions:														
Atlantic	221.65	230.44	4.0	223.60	232.16	3.8	225.29	228.46	230.21	230.91	1.6	0.7	0.8	0.3
Quebec	247.18	267.46	8.2	245.37	264.29	7.7	258.66	260.08	264.85	264.18	0.9	1.6	1.8	- 0.2
Ontario	251.33	268.11	6.7	250.23	264.71	5.8	261.83	262.52	264.28	264.02	0.6	0.9	0.7	- 0.1
Prairies	249.20	263.57	5.8	251.46	263.88	4.9	258.75	259.15	262.65	260.93	0.4	1.2	1.4	- 0.6
British Columbia	286.91	304.91	6.3	288.60	305.41	5.8	298.48	297.80	300.89	302.33	0.8	0.1	1.0	0.5
Manufacturing:														
Average Weekly Earnings ($)	266.43	286.73	7.6	263.90	282.08	6.9	281.06	282.33	285.07	285.07	0.6	1.2	1.0	0.0
Average Hourly Earnings ($)	6.39	6.87	7.5	6.40	6.83	6.7	6.72	6.73	6.77	6.84	0.6	0.9	0.6	1.0
Average Weekly Hours	38.8	38.7	0.3	38.2	38.2	0.0	38.7	38.8	38.8	38.7	0.3	- 0.5	0.0	- 0.3

JOB VACANCIES

	Unadjusted					Three months ending July	Seasonally Adjusted				
	1977			1978			1977			1978	
	II	III	IV	I	II		II	III	IV	I	II
	(Number in thousands)										
All categories	49.7	52.7	35.6	37.9	45.6	46.6	47.8	42.9	40.5	44.7	43.0
Full-time	43.2	45.5	30.9	34.3	39.8	41.0	41.5	37.4	35.3	39.7	37.6
Longer-term	13.2	15.7	12.1	12.1	13.5	14.4	14.4	12.5	13.2	13.4	14.2

[1]Per cent change from previous year.
[2]Per cent change from previous month.
[p]Preliminary.

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat. No. 71-001.

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

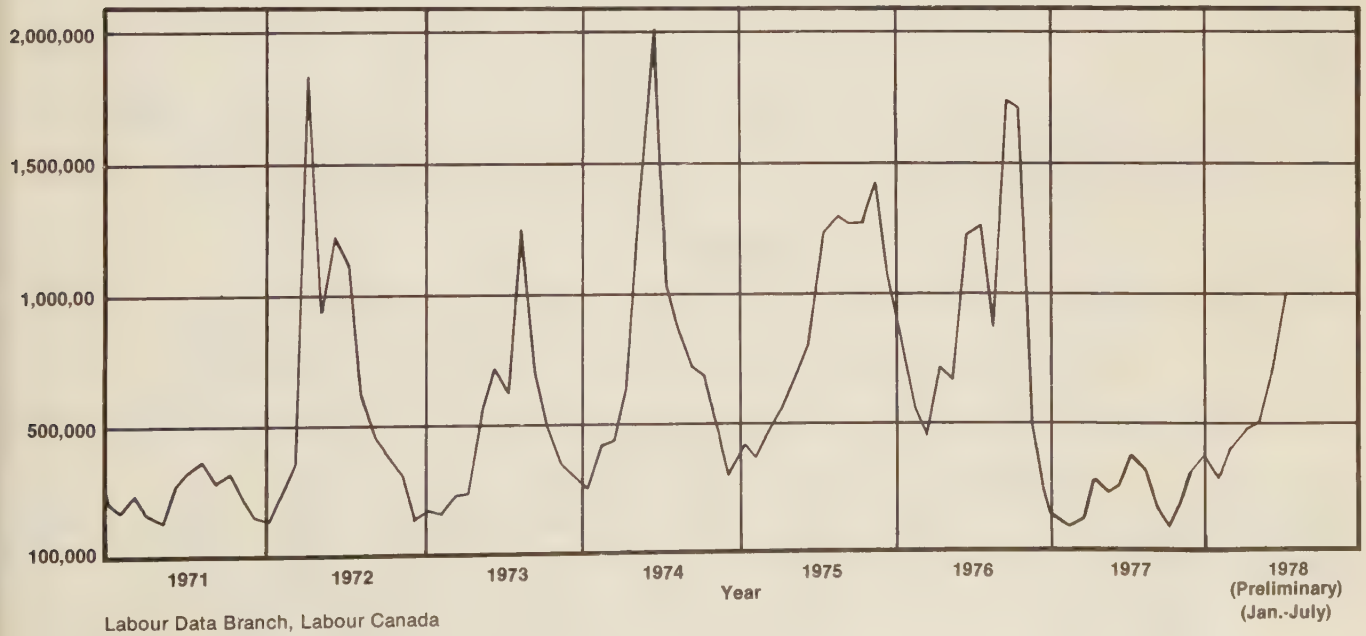
Statistical information on work stoppages in Canada is compiled by the Labour Data Branch of the Canada Department of Labour on the basis of reports from the Canada Manpower Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration. The tables cover strikes and lockouts that amount to 10 or more man-days. The number of workers involved includes all workers reported on strike or lockout, whether or not they all belonged to the union directly involved in the disputes leading to the work stoppages. Workers indirectly affected, such as those laid off as a result of a work stoppage, are not included.

TIME PERSPECTIVE ON WORK STOPPAGES, JULY 1978

Period	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month or year			Per cent of estimated working time
		Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	
Year					
1973	677	724	348,470	5,776,080	0.30
1974	1,173	1,218	580,912	9,221,890	0.46
1975	1,103	1,171	506,443	10,908,810	0.53
1976	921	1,039	1,570,940	11,609,890	0.55
1977	739	803	217,557	3,307,880	0.15
1977					
June	71	156	37,241	307,500	0.16
July	55	138	38,802	405,760	0.22
August	76	153	34,522	345,970	0.17
September	75	174	31,114	245,070	0.13
October	56	120	19,716	178,300	0.10
November	55	113	32,154	240,850	0.13
December	32	101	25,758	353,130	0.20
1978(*)					
January	48	96	24,395	365,720	0.21
February	64	138	29,705	278,200	0.16
March	66	148	37,590	406,510	0.22
April	69	157	42,255	475,580	0.28
May	101	179	41,316	507,510	0.26
June	101	200	102,132	698,020	0.35
July	83	214	82,720	999,850	0.53
January-June 1977		454		1,538,800	0.16
January-June 1978(*)		497		2,731,540	0.25
January-July 1977		509		1,944,560	0.17
January-July 1978(*)		580		3,731,390	0.29

(*) Preliminary

MAN-DAYS LOST IN WORK STOPPAGES
1971 TO DATE



Labour Data Branch, Labour Canada

WORK STOPPAGES BY INDUSTRY, JUNE 1978 (Preliminary)

Industry	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month: Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	Cumulative duration in man-days (Jan. to June)
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0
Forestry	4	4	455	1,020	11,220
Fishing	0	0	0	0	0
Mines	4	11	9,283	135,380	611,510
Manufacturing	54	104	23,560	281,310	962,350
Construction	11	18	9,622	121,390	192,400
Transp. & Utilities	2	15	2,323	36,110	495,470
Trade	12	21	2,807	48,520	103,340
Finance	1	1	9	190	1,760
Service	10	21	3,909	21,080	183,770
Public Admin.	3	5	50,164	53,020	169,720
Various industries.	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	101	200	102,132	698,020	2,731,540

WORK STOPPAGES BY INDUSTRY, JULY 1978 (Preliminary)

Industry	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month: Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	Cumulative duration in man-days (Jan. to July)
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	
Forestry	1	2	235	3,140	14,36
Fishing	1	1	600	1,200	1,20
Mines	1	6	5,040	64,590	676,10
Manufacturing	41	117	29,977	386,920	1,349,27
Construction	13	20	36,789	425,380	617,78
Transp. & Utilities	9	21	3,313	37,710	533,18
Trade	7	23	2,965	43,600	146,94
Finance	0	0	0	0	1,76
Service	5	16	1,644	12,160	195,93
Public Admin.	5	8	2,157	25,150	194,87
Various industries.	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL	83	214	82,720	999,850	3,731,39

WORK STOPPAGES BY JURISDICTION, JUNE, 1978 (Preliminary)

Jurisdiction	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month: Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	Cumulative duration in man-days (Jan. to June)
Nfld.	3	4	3,148	57,830	233,150
P.E.I.	1	1	38	270	270
N.S.	3	4	80	850	24,030
N.B.	4	6	1,258	6,510	19,390
Quebec	23	62	61,377	212,420	994,610
Ontario	27	48	17,473	155,740	521,060
Manitoba	15	20	5,469	95,090	129,160
Saskatchewan	3	10	5,232	57,840	88,020
Alberta	7	9	2,077	21,490	122,400
B.C.	12	23	4,175	55,380	160,690
Yukon & N.W.T.	0	1	14	300	430
Total, provinces	98	188	100,341	663,720	2,293,210
Federal Public Service(1)	1	1	21	20	800
Federal Industries(2)	2	11	1,770	34,280	437,530
Federal total	3	12	1,791	34,300	438,330
TOTAL	101	200	102,132	698,020	2,731,540

(1) Covered under the Public Service Staff Relations Act.
(2) Covered under the Canada Labour Code: Part V.

NOTE: Numbers relate only to workers directly involved in the dispute.

WORK STOPPAGES BY JURISDICTION, JULY, 1978 (Preliminary)

Jurisdiction	Number beginning during month	Work stoppages in existence during month: Number	Workers involved	Duration in man-days	Cumulative duration in man-days (Jan. to July)
Nfld.	4	5	3,900	31,390	264,5
P.E.I.	0	0	0	0	2
N.S.	2	4	363	3,500	27,5
N.B.	6	8	1,931	14,890	34,2
Quebec	16	56	8,391	112,850	1,107,4
Ontario	35	62	40,812	490,250	1,011,3
Manitoba	0	19	5,453	102,730	231,8
Saskatchewan	1	7	1,485	29,310	117,3
Alberta	5	13	9,182	110,760	233,1
B.C.	8	24	8,016	69,300	229,9
Yukon & N.W.T.	0	1	14	10	4
Total, provinces	77	199	79,547	964,990	3,258,2
Federal Public Service(1)	2	2	865	1,040	1,8
Federal Industries(2)	4	13	2,308	33,820	471,3
Federal total	6	15	3,173	34,860	473,1
TOTAL	83	214	82,720	999,850	3,731,3

(1) Covered under the Public Service Staff Relations Act.
(2) Covered under the Canada Labour Code: Part V.

NOTE: Numbers relate only to workers directly involved in the dispute.

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STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

	1976		1977				1978		
	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	Ju
	(Quarterly averages)								
Workers involved	112,173	342,621	24,039	36,790	34,813	25,876	30,563	61,901	82,7
Total Man-days lost	1,466,900	927,813	200,670	312,263	332,267	257,427	350,563	560,370	999,8
Manufacturing	501,157	278,540	110,100	207,630	189,653	154,340	119,170	168,790	386,9
Man-days lost as a % estimated working time:									
Manufacturing	0.79	0.50	0.11	0.17	0.18	0.14	0.20	0.29	0.
	1.18	0.67	0.28	0.52	0.46	0.34	0.31	0.40	0.

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